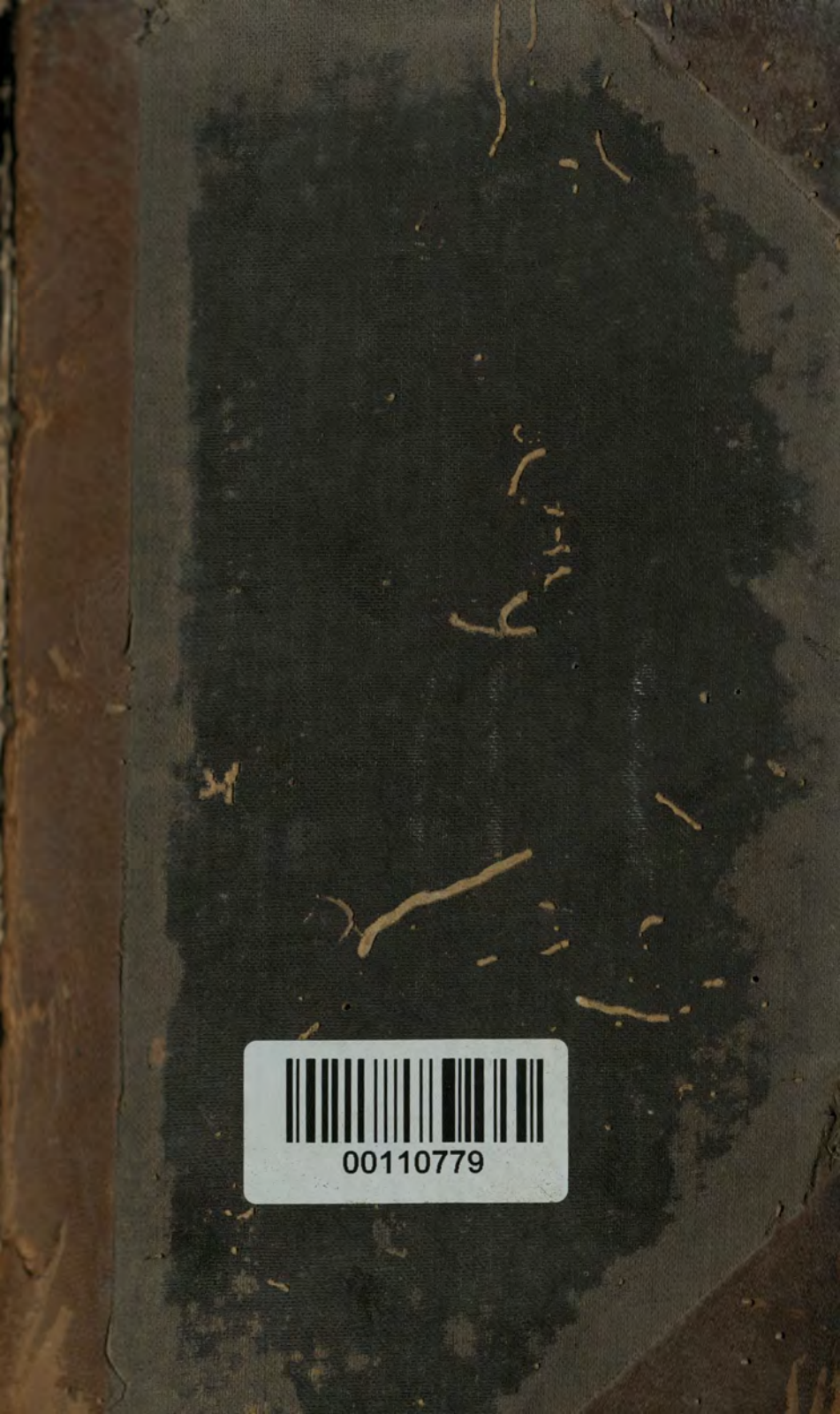
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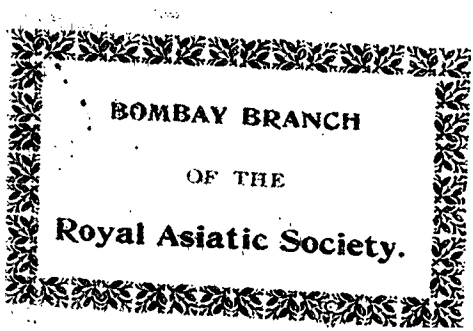

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THE HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF CHRIST:

IN CONTINUATION OF
THE WORK OF THE REV. JOSEPH MILNER, M. A. AND
THE VERY REV. ISAAC MILNER, D.D. F. R. S.

BY JOHN SCOTT, M.A.

VICAR OF NORTH FERRIBY, AND MINISTER OF ST. MARY'S,
HULL, ETC.

VOLUME III.

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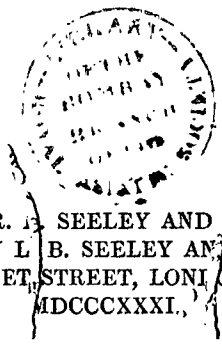
THE SEQUEL OF THE SWISS REFORMATION, INCLUDING THE ENTIRE HISTORY OF FAREL, CALVIN, AND THE REFORMATION OF GENEVA.



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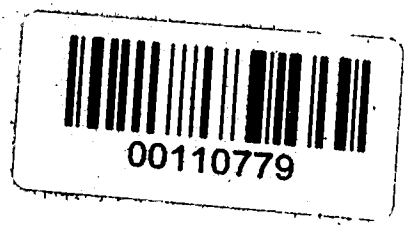

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PREFACE.

THE present volume contains the sequel of the Swiss Reformation; including the latter years of Zwingle and Œcolampadius, and the entire history of Farel, Calvin, and the reformation of Geneva.

ZWINGLE will here appear, and I trust upon sufficient grounds, in a more favourable light than he has often been represented. Not only his great talents and his independent mind, but the general soundness of his doctrine and the depth of his evangelical piety will become apparent. With the exception of some indiscretions, which are well known, upon two or three points[1] we shall find little else to regret than the extravagant length to which he carried certain high doctrines, perhaps rather upon philosophical than theological principles: and even this fault does not seem to have much affected the general style and character of his instructions.

The letters of ŒCOLAMPADIUS will place that learned and holy man high in our esteem, both for his wisdom and his piety.

To attempt to give an account of the life and the writings of CALVIN may be pronounced, in the present age,

"plenum opus aleæ"

—a work full of hazard. Respecting no divine probably has public feeling been so strongly excited and so widely divided: and to a great degree it continues still to be so, when nearly three centuries have rolled away. While some

[1] Original sin, the heathen, and his language concerning the anabaptists.

of his friends have almost "said that he was a god," many among his enemies have been ready to declare him a miscreant, whom it might have been wished that Providence had never "suffered to live:" or at least to affirm that his name deserves to be remembered only as furnishing a designation for a system of doctrine, which by all good Christians is to be avoided with horror. It is needless to say, that I take my station with neither party. In such a diversity of opinion one only course is open—the course of honesty and independence, which I would aim every where to pursue. I have resolved to follow fact and truth as far as I can discern them; to form my own judgment as correctly as I am able; and not to shun to avow it, regardless of the eulogies which have proceeded from the one side, and of the invectives which have been uttered on the other. And I venture to express the hope, that I have in the present instance, in particular, attained to a considerable degree of impartiality. Perhaps it is less difficult to do it here than in other cases which have come before us; because, even to one who feels it absurd to call in question the great talent, the profound learning, the genuine piety and holiness, the unexampled diligence, and the general wisdom which distinguished Calvin, he still is not (like Melancthon,) one of those characters whose exquisite loveliness continually holds out a bribe to our better judgment, in deciding upon their tenets and their conduct. As I have already expressed in the body of my work, the sentiment he excites is rather that of veneration for a superior intelligence, than of affection for a captivating fellow-mortal.—With regard to his doctrines, while I can scarcely repress contempt (if so proud a feeling can ever become a weak human being,) for the ignorance

and presumption which would impute to him almost as a flagrant moral delinquency—a crime against the human race[1]—the holding of sentiments which in him, at least, were combined with the sincerest piety, benevolence, and sanctity; still I must lament that those sentiments should have been carried so far, and expressed so obnoxiously as they were by him. But let my readers judge for themselves from the details of the case. To all the candid and judicious among them I cheerfully commit myself and my work.

I have little to add on the present occasion to the accounts which have been given of the authors from whom my materials are drawn. Scultetus, Melchior Adam, Ruchat, Gerdesius are already before my readers. The references to the Works and Correspondence of Zwingle and Calvin will explain themselves. The Epistles of the latter, as first published by Beza in 1575-6, are annexed, under a separate series of pages, to the ninth volume of his works. Beza's Life of Calvin is prefixed in some copies, I believe, to the first, in others to the last volume of the same collection. It is also copied at length by Melchior Adam, with the exception of the opening *paragraph* and the concluding *sentence*. Spon's "Histoire de Geneve" was first printed at Lyons in two volumes 12mo, 1672 and 1680:[2] but the edition which I use is that of Geneva, 1730, in two volumes quarto, with a large addition of notes and dissertations—the former, Senebier informs us, by Jean-Antoine Gautier, and the latter by Firmin Abauzit.[3] The author, James Spon, was born at Lyons, in 1647, and died at Zuric in 1685. Of the notes Mosheim (in Maclaine's

[1] "Odio humani generis convicti." Tacit. de Christianis.
[2] Seneb. i. 74. Compare ii. 32. [3] Id. ii. 320. iii. 81, 101.

translation,[1]) says: "The various projects and plans that were formed, conducted, and executed with equal prudence and resolution by Calvin, in behalf both of the republic and church of Geneva, are related by the learned person, who, in the year 1730, gave a new edition (enriched with interesting historical notes, and authentic documents,) of Spon's *Histoire de Geneve.* The particular accounts of Calvin's transactions, given by this anonymous editor, in his notes, are drawn from several curious manuscripts, of undoubted credit." It has appeared to me that, as far as Ruchat and Spon and his annotator tread on common ground, the first has borrowed from the second with due acknowledgment, and the last, at considerable length, from the first without such acknowledgment.—Under the name of Senebier, the "Histoire Litéraire de Geneve," 3 volumes 8vo, Geneva, 1786, is referred to: the author, "John Senebier, minister of the gospel, and librarian of the republic." Under those of Mackenzie, Waterman, and Middelton, modern lives of Calvin in the English language are pointed out. The first is dated, Huntingdon, 1809. It is chiefly a translation from Beza and Senebier. The second is by an American writer, ("the Rev. Elijah Waterman, pastor of the presbyterian church in Bridgeport,") Hertford, 1813. The volume conveys considerable information, and alone of the three makes much use of Calvin's correspondence. Numerous letters of the reformer and his friends are here translated "but without sufficient selection. The third first appeared in a periodical publication,[2] in 1825, but is now reprinted with other "Lives of the Reformers" in a separate publication. The work of Fuesslin's referred to is, "Epistolæ ab Ecclesiæ Helveticæ

[1] Vol. iv. 78. [2] The Christian Guardian.

Reformatoribus, vel ad eos scriptæ. Ex autographis." Zuric, 1742, 8vo.

Once and only once I have had occasion to refer to Chauffepié's Continuation of Bayle's "Dictionaire Historique et Critique," 4 vols. folio, Amsterdam, 1756: and I wish here to add an observation or two on the subject of that reference. It is made in the case of Servetus, and in consequence of Gibbon's having pronounced Chauffepié's "the best account" he had seen of the transaction. I had the opportunity of adding to my note, p. 437, the one remark, and no more, that that account confirmed the statements I had given:—implying that it did not bear out the representations for which it was cited by Gibbon. The fact is, that able but insidious writer can support the charges he has brought against Calvin on this subject, only by placing implicit confidence in whatever his own "best" authority has declared unworthy of credit!—If the present is to be taken as a specimen of the historian's adherence to the vouchers to which he refers us, it must tend very much to shake our faith in his statements, at least where his prejudices are concerned.—The only correction, which Chauffepié's long article furnishes to my narrative, respects the manner in which Servetus's letters to Calvin were obtained by the magistrates of Vienne, which it appears was not by application to the magistrates of Geneva,[1] but through the medium of a citizen of Lyons then resident at Geneva. This person, named William Trie, being pressed by a friend in his native city to return to the faith of Rome, gently taunted his correspondent with the consideration of the sort of persons which the Romish church tolerated, while she persecuted the reformed—instancing the author (Servetus)

[1] See below, p. 422.

of the "Christianismi Restitutio." This led to the examination and prosecution of Servetus: in the course of which the resident at Geneva was called upon to produce further proof against him; and, failing to procure a copy of the work just mentioned, obtained from Calvin, by great importunity as he himself assures us, some of the author's letters to that reformer, and transmitted them to Lyons. Servetus however had previously printed his own letters to Calvin, and probably among them the very letters now produced;[1] which after all were never brought forward in evidence against him. It is only by assuming that *William Trie* either was *John Calvin*, or wrote what *he* dictated, that the enemies of the latter can pretend that he instigated the magistrates of Vienne against Servetus: and Chauffepié pronounces the assumption improbable in itself and unsupported by any evidence.—The same learned writer appears very reasonably to conclude, that Servetus's violent and insolent conduct when under examination at Geneva, the very reverse of his behaviour under similar circumstances at Vienne, arose from the confidence he was led to cherish, that he should triumph over his prosecutors by the aid of the powerful faction then opposed to Calvin: whence he says he fell "a victim to his own pride and false anticipations."

To the history of FAREL it might be added, that in the year 1541 or 1542 he proceeded from Neuchâtel, his permanent abode after he quitted Geneva, to Metz, to promote the cause of reformation in that place; but being there opposed by Peter Caroli, he suffered much ill usage, and was obliged to withdraw.[2]

[1] Chauffepié, *Servet*, M. vi. In note L he confirms the correctness of what I have stated, v. 421, note 3.

[2] Mel. Ad. in Farel. Bez. V. Calv. Regist. Apr. 25, 1543.

Hull, January, 1831.

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ERRATA.

P. 422, note, l. 2, for *Restoratio*, read *Restitutio*.
536, l. 2, for *they*, read *he*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

DISPUTATION OF BERNE—COURSE OF EVENTS IN SWITZERLAND TO THE CLOSE OF A. D. 1529—CONFERENCE OF MARPURG.

A. D. 1528.

Disputation of Berne.

THE great disputation of Berne, the chief of all those which were held in Switzerland, may be considered as the principal event of the following year, 1528. It was appointed by the grand council of that state, by summons issued in the November preceding.[1] Ten theses or articles were prepared for discussion by Haller and Colbius, which were transmitted to all the parties invited or expected to attend. The reasons assigned for the meeting were, the great diversity of sentiment and practice which prevailed in matters of religion within the territories of Berne; the refusal of any satisfactory communication of the Acts of Baden; and the great outcry made by the monks against the measure, adopted by the council, of appointing administrators to take care that the property of the convents should not be dissipated by the present possessors, till the period should arrive for placing those institutions on a more satisfactory footing. The time chosen for this discussion was esteemed favourable—

[1] Gerdesius, ii. Doc. p. 131, note.

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since all the great powers of Europe, being engaged in war one with another, were precluded from interfering with the affairs of the Swiss, and preventing their settling their disputes in such a way as seemed to them best. The council earnestly solicited the four bishops of Lausanne, Basle, Constance, and Sion, who had jurisdiction within their dominions, to send deputies; distinctly intimating that their failure to do their duty, by endeavouring to heal the divisions of the afflicted church, might be followed by the loss of those prerogatives which they claimed within the territories of Berne. They invited deputations also from all the cantons, and the attendance of learned men from every part of Switzerland, and from the surrounding countries generally. Murner was specially desired to be present: and a learned Franciscan of Granson, named De Marie-Palud, was even brought to Berne at the expence of the government. Murner answered the invitation only by a publication against the Bernese, so libellous that the state of Lucerne no longer ventured to protect him, and he was obliged soon after to quit Switzerland.[1]

Opposition to the meeting.

Most of the higher parties applied to discouraged the project. The bishop of Lausanne told the council, that they had no persons among them sufficiently learned in the scriptures to engage in a discussion of so great importance. He sent, however, some of his divines to the meeting, but they soon withdrew, without either assigning their reasons or taking leave: a proceeding which drew from the lords of Berne a strong remonstrance to the bishop.[2]

[1] Ruchat ii. 9, 401-2.

[2] Ru. ii. 10. This remonstrance was conveyed in the last

The Roman-catholic cantons, assembled at Lucerne, strongly opposed the measure, referring the Bernese to the disputation of Baden as having sufficiently decided the questions at issue: and they refused to suffer any persons to pass through their territories to the proposed meeting. The Friburgers, more violent than the rest, even endeavoured to excite the people of Berne to rise against their rulers. Nor did the emperor suffer his multiplied engagements to prevent his writing to the government, urging them to refer the whole question to a general council, and, in the mean time, to the approaching diet of Ratisbon. It is needless to say that this advice was not taken. A. D. 1528.

But though the prelates, with the single exception already mentioned, and most of the higher powers applied to, declined any participation in the meeting, yet a great number of ecclesiastics and learned men assembled from all parts of Switzerland and the surrounding countries. As many as a hundred resorted to Zuric from Glaris, Schaffhausen, S. Gallen, Constance, Ulm, Lindau, Isenach, Augsburg, Nordlingen, and other places, to go in a body with Zwingle: and, as plots were formed against that reformer's life, the magistrates sent forward his party under an escort of three hundred soldiers. More than three hundred and fifty priests are said to have attended the disputation of Berne: and among the more celebrated names on the side of the reformed were reckoned Zwingle, Œcolampadius, Pellican, Bullinger, Haller, Blaurer, Capito, Bucer, Hoffmeister, Megander, Zingk, Conrad Schmidt, Imelin, Parties assembled.

of three letters from the council to the bishop, which are given, ib. 512—518, and thence copied by Gerdes, vol. ii. Doc. N°. 23.

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Burgawer, Somius of Augsburg, Althamer of Nuremberg, Schappeler, Reust burgomaster of Zuric, and Vadian burgomaster of S. Gallen. The whole council of Berne also was present.

Regulations observed.

The meeting took place in the church of the Franciscans, and it lasted from the 7th to the 26th of January, inclusive, with the exception of only one day. Two sessions were held daily, and each session was opened with prayer. All persons concerned were regularly ranged in seats appropriated to them, according to the rank of the cantons or towns from which they were deputed. That every thing might be conducted in an orderly manner, and recorded with unimpeachable fidelity, four presidents—Vadian of S. Gallen, the dean of S. Peter's at Basle, the abbot of Gottstatt, and the commendator of Kusnacht—were chosen by the meeting, and two secretaries by each of the two parties. The secretaries were sworn to perform their duty faithfully, and the presidents engaged by solemn promise to enforce the rules agreed upon for the conduct of the discussion: one of which was, "That no proof should be admitted but from scripture, nor any explanation of the proofs, which was not also supported by scripture—no judge being allowed but scripture explained by itself, that is by the comparison of more obscure parts with those which are more clear." Any person was allowed to take notes, who would give in his name, and pledge himself to make no unfair use of them, and not to publish any thing from them before the authentic acts of the disputation should appear, which were to be printed with all possible despatch. The disputants were also allowed to receive assistance at the time from

any of their friends, whether by written or oral communication.[1] A. D. 1528.

The proceedings of this disputation are preserved to us in the authentic "Acts," published in the German tongue, at Zuric, two months after its close, and reprinted at Berne in 1608. Bucer also has given us an account of it, at some length, in his dedication of his commentary on S. John to the magistrates and ministers of Berne. We have moreover a curious epistle addressed by a zealous Roman-catholic priest of Soleure, Jacobus Monasteriensis, or James of Munster, who was present, to his friend Sigismund of S. Trudo, a canon and eminent lawyer of Mentz, which fully confirms every representation of the unfavourable figure which his party made on this occasion. Both Scultetus and Gerdes have copied Bucer's account, and Ruchat has abstracted largely from the Acts.[2] It will not be our purpose to enter into detail: yet something may be drawn from each of these sources of information. Such discussions were evidently of signal service at the period of the reformation, when the people had less opportunity of being instructed by books than we now enjoy, and when all the mummeries of the popish worship, and all the antiscriptural doctrines of the popish faith,

Records of proceedings

Utility of such meetings.

[1] Ru. ii. 5—29. Gerd. ii. 338—343, 351—353.

[2] Scultet. 122—124. Gerd. ii. 351, 354—359. Ru. ii. 29—202. Dupin's account (vi. 108-9,) does not differ from that here given. In stating the objections made by the four bishops against holding the disputation, he says they urged, "that disputes about matters of faith ought not to be determined by scripture alone, because every one would explain it according to his own humour: ... that the law of God had provided another way to decide all doubts in religion, which is to apply themselves to the pope, and acquiesce in his determination." Such is the representation of a learned and candid Roman-catholic.

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which were to be exposed by being contrasted with the scriptures, were notorious to all men: and in proportion as things any where approximate to the same state may like discussions be expected to prove useful now. In such cases also the publication of what passes, by means of the press, will no doubt prove highly serviceable to those who are, from local circumstances, specially interested in it, or who have not leisure to examine more elaborate works upon the subject: though it cannot be expected that the advocates on either side can do that justice to their cause in extemporaneous debate, which the same persons would be capable of doing by deliberate written composition.

These remarks premised, we proceed to give some particulars of what took place at the disputation before us.

Proceedings.

The canons of Berne were asked to take part in the discussion: but they declined it, saying that they had nothing to advance against the theses, but they would observe, in the course of the debate, how far they were found conformable to the word of God. Haller, as a principal pastor of the town, brought forward the

First proposition.

first proposition, which affirmed the fundamental principles that Christ is the only (spiritual) head of the church, and the written word of God the only rule of its faith. He explained and supported his proposition in a short speech, in which, among other matter, he laid down the same doctrine concerning the church, as Zwingle had done in the disputation at Zuric.[1] Some

Œcolampadius on the church;

remarks of Œcolampadius, who spoke next, may deserve to be transcribed. He observed, that, as Jerusalem was styled "the holy city,"

[1] Vol. ii. 461-2.

on account of the *professed* character of its inhabitants, but sometimes also was stigmatized as "Sodom and Egypt," because of its idolatries —though still the latter appellations would not apply to those of its inhabitants who protested against idolatry; so it was now. The church was extensively corrupted: but still it contained many who persevered in the faith of Christ, and, from love to him, in charity to all men.— He then defined what he meant by faith in Christ; namely, "not a mere acknowledgment even of *all* the doctrines of scripture, but such an affiance or dependence on God, and on Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, as disposes us to listen (with an obedient ear) to the word of God; and makes us willing to renounce all the world rather than part with this our confidence in God."[1] A.D. 1528. and on faith.

Alexius Gratt, a Dominican of Berne, undertook to maintain the supremacy of S. Peter, and through him of the pope: for which one of his arguments was our Lord's having given to Peter the name of Cephas, which, said Gratt, "is a Greek word signifying a head, or chief." Haller informed him that the word was Syriac, and in the very passage referred to was explained to mean a rock or stone.[2] Gratt alleged that he had read what he stated concerning the name Cephas in the vocabularies: and we may observe, that generally throughout the disputation, when the original scriptures were to be referred to, the Roman-catholic Supremacy of S. Peter. Gratt.

[1] Ru. ii. 26, 29—33.

[2] John i. 42, 43. "Thou art Simon the son of Jona: thou shalt be called Cephas, which is by interpretation, *a stone*," or Peter, Πέτρος. I presume Gratt confounded Κηφᾶς with κεφαλή. We shall find that this blunder of his partizan is severely animadverted on by James of Munster.

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advocates had to rely upon, and even to solicit the assistance of their opponents! Bucer then followed: after which Gratt again attempted to argue Peter's supremacy from Christ's command to him, "Launch out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught." He wished to put upon the passage an allegorical interpretation of Chrysostom's: but this was not allowed; and Haller remarked, that even if that interpretation were admitted the passage would only mean, that Peter was to be diligent in his proper work. [1]

Excommunication.

Houter, of Appenzel, argued from the power of excommunication given to the church, "and therefore," said he, "to the pope." Haller replied, that the power of excluding scandalous sinners from their communion belonged to each particular church or parish, and was, moreover, not a power to be exercised absolutely by the church at her own pleasure, as if she might decree what she would, and it must be binding: the power must be used according to the rules of God's word. Zwingle followed on the same side, and shewed the proper limits of the power of excommunication; and that it was not committed to any one, two, or three men, but to each church, with its pastor at its head. Our Lord's directions, in Matthew xviii, he argued, shewed this; as did also the practice of S. Paul, (1 Corinthians v,) notwithstanding the apostolical power with which he was clothed. Excommunication without sufficient cause, he said, was an act of tyranny, and invalid.[2]

Traigeur on believing with the church.

Traigeur, or Treyer, of Friburg, provincial of the Augustinians, who begged to be understood as appearing only in a private capacity,

[1] Ru. ii. 33—36, 37, 41.

[2] Ru. ii. 45—48.

and not as deputed by any other persons, maintained, that in order to be saved it was "necessary to believe all that the church believes," but, "not necessary to *understand* all the articles of faith, or believe them *explicitly*: it was enough to believe with the universal church, to which the Saviour has promised his Spirit.[1]" In short it would seem, both from this explanation and from the practice of the Romish church, that we must declare our assent to whatever the church teaches, but that, provided we constantly do so, we may in reality believe almost as we please. Such is the amount of Roman-catholic unity! A. D. 1528.

Bucer, in reply to what Traigeur had urged on the discrepancies of the reformed, said, that a difference of sentiment, even among men having the Spirit of God, ought not to excite surprise; since in this world we *know but in part*; and God does not enlighten men's minds all at once, but by degrees. For his own part he had once highly esteemed Aquinas, but since God had given him grace to discover his errors he had renounced that doctor. He had also highly esteemed Luther, and did still highly esteem him: but, since God, in order to teach us not to call any man master, had permitted that reformer to fall into the error of explaining the spiritual words of the sacrament in a carnal sense, and to confound the humanity of Jesus Christ with his divinity, the glory of God required that they should differ from him in those particulars. In other respects, however, they gladly acknowledged him as a brother, so long as he preached Jesus Christ as the only Saviour. It was sufficient

Bucer on differences among the reformed.

(Luther.)

[1] Ru. ii. 49, 59.

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that he agreed with them in fundamentals. Neither Luther, Zwingle, or Œcolampadius (he affirmed,) ever sought to found sects, and gain disciples to themselves, who should bear their names; but to preach the grace of God through Jesus Christ; exhorting men to govern their faith and their lives by the holy scriptures and the apostles' creed: in place of which the Roman catholics made the pope the associate of Jesus Christ, and joined with him other mediators and other satisfactions for sin. Among *them*, every order of monks had its head or founder, whom it regarded with an idolatrous veneration. Such was Dominic to the Dominicans: "he had obtained," they said, "from the Virgin Mary that no monk of his order should perish everlastingly:" and such to the Franciscans was S. Francis, who "every year delivered out of purgatory all who wore his badge."[1] On the passage, (2 Cor. ii,) "He that is spiritual judgeth all things," which had been urged as a proof, that the church is a judge in some sense even of the scriptures themselves, Bucer observed, that the position was laid down not concerning a council, or the pope, but concerning every individual true Christian; for "if *any man* have not the Spirit of Christ he is none of his."[2]

Christ how the sole head of the Church.

Schatt, parish priest of Gondisvyl, contended that Jesus Christ could not be the only head of the church: both his divinity and his humanity forbad it: for in the former he was its head only in common with the Father and the Holy Ghost; and in the latter God was his head! —referring to 1 Corinthians xi. 3. Zwingle answered him, that Christ is the head of the

[1] Ru. ii. 61–63. [2] Ib. 51, 52, 54, 64.

church in his divine and human nature united, without the exclusion of the other divine persons, who with him are One God: and that it is with respect to his human nature that "the head of Christ is God."[1] A. D. 1528.

Mourer, of Rapersvyl, argued, that, as it was agreed that some authority belonged to the church, it must have a monarch, or earthly head, to administer that authority: and that, as Moses, the head of the Jewish church, was the type of Christ, so Aaron, under him the ecclesiastical head, was the type of S. Peter! Haller replied, that Hebrews iii, v, vi proved both Moses and Aaron to be types of Christ in his different characters.[2] Argument for an earthly head.

The discussion of the first article occupied five days and a half. Capito on the side of the reformed, and several others on that of the Romanists, took part in the debate, besides those who have been mentioned. And it was before this article was disposed of that the divines sent by the bishop of Lausanne withdrew. Jan. 12.

Colbius, of Berne, brought forward the second article, which denied the authority of any laws or traditions of the church further than they were agreeable to the written word of God. Boukstab, of Zoffingen, was the leading opponent, and Bucer chiefly answered him. In reply to the standing argument for traditions, that Christ and the apostles delivered many more instructions than were written,[3] Bucer said, all were written which were necessary for our "believing in Christ, and having life through his name:" the rest were either coincident with these, or were not of permanent Second proposition. Traditions.

[1] Ru. ii. 78, 79. [2] Ib. 80. [3] John xx, xxi. &c. &c.

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necessity. To the argument drawn from the rules established by the church, Acts xv, he answered that, (with the exception of one taken from the moral law of God,) they were not durably to bind the conscience, but were only such as charity for the Jews required the Christians of that age to observe.[1]

Third proposition. Jan 14.

Haller introduced the third article, asserting that the sacrifice of Christ on the cross was the only and sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world. He denied the merit of works, but not their necessity; and maintained that the rewards promised are the free gifts of God's grace. Some debate followed on these topics, but nothing beyond the usual routine of argument appears to have occurred.[2]

Fourth proposition.

The fourth article, which denied the doctrine of the corporal presence, was entered upon the same day, being introduced by Colbius: and here the close of the discussion was rendered interesting by the following occurrences. Burgawer, of S. Gallen, after arguing for four days in support of Luther's doctrine of consubstantiation, publicly declared himself satisfied by the answers of Zwingle, Œcolampadius, and Bucer; acknowledged the light he had received, and prayed God to open all their minds to discern and receive his truth. He was followed by his fellow minister and deputy of S. Gallen, Dominic Zilli, who said, that Burgawer and he had been deputed by the council of their town; that before they set out his friend and brother had declared to the council, that he would go with his mind open either to receive or to communicate instruction; and that he hoped he should himself receive it.

The eucharist. Burgawer, (Jan. 19.)

Zilli,

[1] Ru. ii. 84, 86, 93.

[2] Ib. 98—104.

Accordingly he had found it there; "for which," said Zilli, "I bless God, and pray that he would grant my good brother all needful illumination for whatever is yet to follow, and a heart to persevere to the end." For his own part, he assured the present venerable assembly, that, at S. Gallen, they had for a long time done all that in them lay to preach the word of God with entire unanimity. Matthias, minister of Sœngen, avowed a like conviction to that of Burgawer. It is pleasing to record such proofs that there were those who had not come to the discussion with their minds made up at all events to maintain their previous opinions, and only to be confirmed in them, or to find the means and opportunity of overthrowing those of others, but prepared themselves to embrace the truth wherever they should discover it. Such instances of piety, candour, and ingenuousness must ever be contemplated with delight. [1]

A.D. 1528.

and Matthias convinced.

Althamer, of Nuremberg, a Lutheran, maintained the same doctrine as Burgawer had done, but with a different issue. In his zeal for the real presence, he even allowed himself to be put forward by the popish party as their advocate against the doctrine of Zwingle on that head; which led to the erroneous report that he had deserted the reformers. Finding himself unsupported upon this favourite point, he withdrew, and spread injurious reports of the meeting and its proceedings: which drew from Zwingle the sarcastic question, (more natural than Christian,) "What can the vanquished do but shew their chagrin?" [2]

Althamer.

Conrad Somius, of Ulm, a frequent correspondent of Zwingle's, stated, that he regarded

Somius of Ulm.

[1] Ru. ii. 104—142.

[2] Ib. 115—119. Gerd. ii. 352. Œc. and Z. Epist. 203 (b).

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the ten theses proposed for discussion, particularly the fourth, (on the real presence,) as true and holy; that he had preached the doctrine contained in them in his church; and that, having been harshly treated by Eckius for so doing, he had challenged that doctor to meet him and discuss with him their differences before the present assembly; a challenge which had not been accepted. Other persons made similar declarations concerning their respective opponents.[1]

Remaining propositions.

The other articles, relating to the mass, the invocation of saints, purgatory, and masses for the dead, the use of images, the prohibition of marriage, and the condemnation pronounced by scripture against all impurity, were discussed in their order: but little occurs respecting them that need here be noticed. On the subject of the mass, it was contended by Boukstab, that the passage in the eleventh

Daniel xi.

chapter of Daniel, concerning "the abomination that maketh desolate," must be referred to "the desolation of the church by the abolition of the mass!" and, under the next article, it is to be regretted that Zwingle should have denied the canonical authority of the

Apocalypse.

Apocalypse.[2] But the question of the canon of scripture has been more fully discussed, and more accurately settled, since his time.

Festival of S. Vincent.

The 22nd of January was the day on which no discussion took place, it being the festival of S. Vincent, the patron saint of the city. The magistrates, in reply to an application made to them on the subject, observed, that such ministers as approved of the theses could not consistently celebrate mass, but that those

[1] Ru. ii. 142. [2] Ib. 156, 163.

who chose to do it were at liberty to follow the dictates of their own minds, and to use the ceremonies customary on the occasion. The consequence was, that, though the tapers were lighted, and preparations made as usual, no one was found to perform the service.[1] A. D. 1528.

Close of the disputation.

At the close of the proceedings, all the canons of Berne, the prior and sub-prior of the Dominicans, and six friars of that order, with fifty-two of the beneficed clergy of the city and of the German part of the canton of Berne, subscribed the ten articles which had been made the subject of discussion.[2]

Bucer's account.

We will now present the reader with some parts of Bucer's account of the disputation, and likewise with that given by Jacques de Munster.

Judgment of the church.

"Traigeur," says the former, "bent all his efforts to shew, that it belonged not to the people of Berne to determine any thing concerning religion, but to wait for the decisions of a council. But his proof was drawn, not from the scriptures, but from the fact that the gospels had been received upon the judgment of the church:[3] whence he wished to infer, that the church was to be regarded as the only judge of faith and of every doctrine. And by the church he meant a council. All others, he said, might err, and therefore the decision

[1] Ib. 166. [2] Ib. 204.

[3] He refers to the perpetually cited sentence of Augustine, importing that "that father would not have believed the gospels but for the authority of the church;" which sentence Zwingle (Op. i. 135,) explains, as we have done, (above, ii. 261,) to mean, that the ancient church had discriminated spurious or apocryphal works from the genuine writings of inspired men. To decide this question of mere *fact* was a widely different thing from pronouncing peremptorily what *doctrines* were to be believed, what not.

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should not be left to them. He also urged that the Bohemians (the followers of Huss) were divided into sects, and that we ourselves did not on all points agree with Luther. It was easy to reject his pretended arguments, since all pious persons know that the just must live by his *own* faith, and not by that of popes and councils; and therefore that not only each particular church, but every individual, ought to know what God commands and promises; and especially that every thing is to be looked for from Christ (alone), and that all our religion must work by love to our neighbour. Now, as all the dogmas and institutions of the Romanists are diametrically opposed to these (two) principles, and that so clearly that even a child, by comparing them with the scriptures, may perceive it; what need can there be to wait for the decrees of councils upon the subject—assemblies which are seldom convened, and which, when they have met, have been for ages past of such a character that it would be more reasonable to expect water to flow from a flint, than doctrines according to godliness to proceed from them?—The scriptures are accessible on all sides; and there are not wanting persons profitably to propound them to the people: their being apprehended (by a true and lively) faith depends not on councils, nor on any created being: for the Father alone, through Christ, gives the Holy Spirit, who *leads into all the truth;* and he gives the Spirit to those whom he has *chosen before the foundation of the world*, and not merely to those who listen to councils.—And then, as to the fact that all are not agreed in their interpretation of scripture, the reason is, that all are not equally endowed with the Spirit; that many hypocrites

Private judgment.

A. D. 1528.

are intermingled with the children of God; and that to Christ alone hath the Father given the honour of being the infallible master of his saints: others, however good and holy, must be suffered, on one point or other, to shew that they are but men; in order that the elect may learn in all things to depend only on Christ. Wherever also the children of God are, wherever the kingdom of Christ is found, there Satan will labour to produce disturbance and confusion; for, as to others whom he has in his power, why should he shew any anxiety about them? It is moreover the will of our heavenly Father to prove his people by sects or divisions. And the agreement of the papists, who are numerous, while amongst us, who are comparatively few, differences exist, no more proves that they are right and we wrong, than the Mahometans (who far outnumber the papists,) are proved to be right and the apostles wrong, by the former agreeing for ages in the belief of the Koran, and the latter having been unable to remove from the church all discordancy of opinion respecting the Mosaic ceremonies.... The fact is, *the far greater part of mankind are not in earnest in religion:* they only want something which may save appearances; and, whatever may present itself that will answer that purpose, they readily acquiesce in it.... Traigeur pretended, that the rule of explaining scripture only by itself was a principle full of deadly poison. As if the same rule were not observed with respect to all writings whatever! Or as if he himself would endure it, if any person should take upon him to interpret one of the pope's bulls by his own arbitrary pleasure, and not in a manner that he could support from the words of the bull itself! What impertinence

Differences of opinion.

Scripture explained by itself.

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then is it to require, that in the divine scriptures an interpretation should be admitted, different from what the inspired words themselves suggest—when, at the same time, *no man knoweth the things of God but the Spirit of God.*"

The eucharist.

On the subject of the eucharist Bucer remarks, that it was shewn in the debate, that the words "This is my body," taken strictly, agreed no better with Luther's doctrine than with that of the Swiss divines. To suit the former doctrine, they ought to have been, *In this* is my body. One party therefore, as well as the other, was obliged to take them figuratively.

"It is in vain," he adds, reviewing the whole of the proceedings, "to pretend that we had to combat only with unarmed antagonists. They will be far from confessing such a thing of themselves: and, if they were such, it must have been because Eckius, Faber, and the other champions of the party could provide them with no better weapons; for there was nothing which these demigods had produced at Baden and elsewhere, which was not brought forward on this occasion. And certainly our opponents used their arms valiantly enough, if clamour and impudence can constitute valour.—But, if the persons present were not competent to engage us, why did not better qualified advocates attend? Eckius and the rest had timely notice and invitation. But they knew that when the question was to be decided *by the scriptures,* and not by violence, there were no laurels to be won by them."[1]

Jacques de Munster's account.

The letter of the priest of Soleure is, of course, in a very different style and spirit: but it amply confirms the facts, of the general ignorance

[1] Scultet. 123, 124. Gerd. ii. 355—359.

and profligacy of the popish clergy at that time; of the impossibility of supporting the doctrines and practices of their church by the scriptures; and of the miserable defence which they were able to offer on the present occasion. Nay the writer cannot suppress a feeling of bitter scorn and indignation at the conduct of his own party, beyond what any of their opponents have expressed; while he bears a strong, though unwilling testimony to the learning and talents of the leaders on the other side. A. D. 1528.

He begins by apologizing to his friend for his delay in writing, which had been occasioned by "the convention and dispute[1] of the Lutheran, or rather the Zwinglian heretics at Berne:" for, however business had pressed, especially that of his canonry, obtained for him only two months before by his relation, "fighting amongst the robbers at (or of) Rome"[2]—where soldiers had proved more serviceable to him than cardinals—yet he could not but stay to see "what would be the issue of the present madness, and what care the bishops would take for the church." "But what shall I say?" he proceeds: "We complain of the address of the heretics, and of the connivance of princes, and many accuse fate; but what I have been accustomed to say has received the fullest confirmation in this general assembly of the heretics; Our affairs go to ruin solely by our own misconduct, and because the heads of the church neglect to train up any men of learning. Our

Ignorance and misconduct of the R. Catholics.

[1] He puns upon the word—"dispuitionem—disputationem dicere volebam."

[2] The troops of Charles V. had sacked Rome the year before, and retained possession of it several months. I know not whether he refers to them. "Quem germanus meus militans inter latrones Romæ mihi impetravit."

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faithful adherents at Berne, who have hitherto had the management of affairs there, urged, even with threats, the bishops who have jurisdiction in the country to attend—expecting, however, no more than that they should send learned men to confute the heretics. But what was done? Not one of them either appeared or sent any competent persons. The bishop of Lausanne, indeed, sent some Frenchmen; but he recalled them, without their having taken any part in the proceedings. After some days there came an Augustinian friar—they styled him a provincial—of the name of Traigeur: he could talk indeed, but he possessed neither learning nor eloquence. And, when he was required to argue from scripture, he chose rather to withdraw than dispute. Whatever others may say of him, I saw nothing in the man but an impudent monk. Another, a Dominican, more noisy indeed, but not a whit more learned, for some days together prated about the scriptures; but with what success you may judge from this specimen: wishing to prove the pope to be the head of the church, he said, his holiness had received this supremacy from S. Peter, to whom our Lord with that intent gave the name of *Cephas, or the head!* So, he said, he had read in the vocabularies![1] You see what sort of champions we have: and yet we wonder that we fall into contempt, and that many on all sides desert us. Three or four mass-priests also disputed, and a schoolmaster, whose name signifies *a letter:*[2] a

[1] As Ruchat observes, the writer should have been on his guard lest his ridicule should strike a higher authority than he intended; for this interpretation, of *Cephas, or the head,* is actually found in the Decretals of Gratian, Distinct. xxii. 3!

[2] Boukstab.

worthy man, as it would seem, and one who shewed more zeal to defend the church and the fathers, than all the rest who were there; but he wanted the ability. Whatever Faber, Eckius, and the bishop of Rochester[1] have collected together against the heretics (not all of it so sound or so sagacious as the case requires,) was brought forward by this man. But now hear what was the constancy of the dignitaries and chapter of Berne: with one or two exceptions, there were none among them who were not convinced that the articles of the heretics were blasphemous,[2] yet, to a man, they all subscribed them! and that assembled in chapter together! And all this only because the ignorant beasts[3] on our side could maintain no argument against the heretics! Had our advocates been men of sense, and possessed of any share of address and good management, considering the strength of our party at Berne, they might have protracted the discussion for a year, even if they could have done nothing better. But it is fit that we should thus pay the penalty of our neglect of study and contempt for learning. And then the monks and priests of Berne followed the infatuated example of their superiors. And yet they have in the canton three hundred and four parishes,[4] besides perhaps thirty wealthy monasteries and convents, which still persevere in the faith of the church.

A. D. 1528.

"But you may wish for some account of the

Account of the reformed advocates.

[1] Fisher.

[2] The reader must decide which of the two he will believe, the imputation thus cast, or the subscriptions of the chapter.

[3] Indoctæ bestiæ.

[4] It is not clear to me whether he means to state the total number of parishes, or the number which were yet sound in the faith.

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heretics:—though why should I accumulate matter painful to you and to myself? I will mention a few of these men. It was an easy battle they had to fight, having no competent opponents. I did not find them, however, so well furnished but that, had able men, versed in the scriptures, been pitched against them, if they could not have beaten them at all points, (for who could hope to vanquish men more noisy than Corinthian brass—especially as not all our doctrines can be clearly proved from scripture?) yet the victory might have been left doubtful. Oh, if only a single Erasmus had been engaged against them! For frequently I could perceive that their minds were not made up as to the answers they should return. One anxiously suggested to another what he should say: and concerning the meaning of some passages they hesitated: so that a well-provided and dexterous disputant would not have wanted the occasion and the means of confounding them, destroying their authority, and thus repairing the devastation they have occasioned. At the same time, however, we must suppose that, if they had had *men* to encounter them, they would have conducted their cause with more caution and judgment. Some of them, like the vehemence of *Zwingle*, (who was in a perpetual heat,) could be excited only by anger.[1] That brute,[2] however, is more learned than I gave him credit for being. *Œcolampadius*[3] seems to excel in

[1] The Latin here is obscure—probably corrupted; and it is differently pointed by different editors. "Suntque admodum quidam eorum, qui ut solum Zuinglii vehementia tantummodâ excitari potuerunt, admodum enim continuo fervebat." &c. In what follows also the readings vary.

[2] Bellua.

[3] He gives to Œcolampadius the epithet Nasutus, sneering, I believe, at the length of his nose, literally taken: and to

acquaintance with the prophets and the Hebrew tongue: and, though inferior to his associate in fertility and perspicuity, in Greek learning he seems equal to him, if not his superior. What are the powers of the apostate *Capito* I cannot judge, for he spoke but little. *Bucer* took a larger part. If he were equal to Zwingle and Œcolampadius in learning and knowledge of the languages, he would be more to be feared (than either of them?). The little beast[1] is not easily to be moved; and he has a clear method of proposing his sentiments. But I need not proceed: you will perceive that our cause was ill provided in the presence of these practised heretics. Here and there a priest barked:[2] but they were men who knew better how to chant the vigils than to dispute: and the good schoolmaster wanted learning. A. D. 1528.

"But what" (proceeds our author,) "were the consequences of the disputation? As soon as it was over, the council decreed that all altars, images, masses, and whatever pertained to divine worship and the ceremonies of the church, should be banished from the town of Berne, and from all the districts and places subject to it where there was not found a majority of the people in favour of them; and that they should never be introduced again. Alas, for the times, and the manners of the age! Alas, for our sluggish inactivity! How easily might all this mischief have been prevented, had not our bishops been more fond of strumpets than of men of learning! But you will say, Is there no hope of defeating the projects of these nefarious heretics? Certainly there Prospects of the church.

Bucer, that of Snaphanicus, or Schnaffanicus, of the meaning of which I confess myself ignorant.

[1] Bestiola. [2] Latravit.

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is very little. You know the independent spirit of this nation. The sole cause of their perversion is, that no competent person dares to appear against the heretics. The people of Lucerne, under some rustic leaders, have exerted themselves to check the progress of the evil more than all the bishops have done. But, while we have such miserable defenders, the ignorant people think we have not truth on our side; and the more numerous overpower the better part. The influence of the people of Zuric among them is unbounded; and you know that they are full of artifice, and of unparalleled obstinacy. But what are others doing? You are aware that the council of Basle can accomplish nothing, for fear of their own citizens—whom Œcolampadius bewitches, less by his learning than by his hypocrisy. The same will soon be the situation of other places. I fear the Swiss nation will shake off the yoke of the sovereign pontiff, as they aforetime did that of the emperor. And I wish that Constance and some other imperial cities may not follow their example.....If we would not be utterly undone, we must revert to those means by which the church at first increased—learning, and such manners as may at least exhibit the *appearance* of being laudable.—Dated at Soleure, 29 January," 1528.[1]

After the close of the disputation, the five cantons which were distinguished by their zeal for the Roman-catholic faith endeavoured to obstruct, at Bremgarten and Mellingen, the return of the deputies of Zuric and their companions; but without effect, as the party were protected by an escort from Berne.[2]

[1] Scultet. 124—126. J. H. Hottinger, vii. 649—655. Ru. ii. 519—527. Gerd. ii. Doc. N°. 24. [2] Ru. ii. 208.

A. D. 1528.

The letter just recited has informed the reader of what took place at Berne after the close of the disputation. Indeed the prompt and zealous conduct of the council give little countenance to the impression, which the writer would fain make, of their inclination to the Roman-catholic side of the question. They proceeded immediately to take the advice of the many eminent persons now assembled in their city, and particularly of Vadian and the other presidents, as to the line of conduct they should pursue, and in consequence resolved that the mass should henceforth be discontinued in the town; and that, with respect to the country, each pastor should adhere to what he had subscribed, and act according to it, till further measures should be resolved on. The altars therefore were removed from the churches, and the images destroyed. Many of the citizens who retained their former sentiments viewed these proceedings with chagrin, but the whole passed off peaceably, and without opposition.[1]

Consequences at Berne.

Jan. 27.

Before adopting any more regular legislative measure, the council called together the inhabitants of the city at large, on the second of February, to assure themselves of their concurrence: and then, on the seventh of the same month, issued an edict sanctioning the articles which had been discussed in the disputation; forbidding the clergy to teach or speak contrary to them; and at the same time calling God to witness, that they would not have made the innovation but in conformity with what they believed to be his will. The council further by this decree deprived the four bishops, as they had threatened to do, of all spiritual

Decree of the council.

[1] Ru. ii. 206—208.

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jurisdiction within their territories;[1] ordered the removal of such rural deans as opposed the reformation, and the appointment of others in their place, to take the inspection of the parochial clergy; abolished the mass and images at Berne for ever; but ordered that persons who might not be prepared to concur in these changes should be treated with kindness and forbearance; that prayers should be offered for their illumination; and that in the mean time they should be allowed to retain the use of the mass and of images among themselves. This decree further directed that the customary payments should be made to the priests at present in office, during their lives or their incumbency, though the rites for which they had been paid were abolished. It allowed marriage to the clergy; and the eating of meat at all seasons, provided it were done without giving needless offence, and particularly without putting constraint upon any one. The monks and nuns were permitted to remain in their convents, though not to receive any new inmates; or to quit them if they thought proper, taking out with them whatever property they had added to the funds: and if they married, and had not sufficient private fortune for their support, they were to be assisted from the funds of their respective establishments. Finally, the parochial ministers were required to preach four times in the week, on Sundays, Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, except at seasons of the year when the engagements of the people would not allow them to attend.

Decided as was the character of this decree, and strong as some of its provisions were, a

[1] In any lordships or temporal rights, which they might hold, they were not disturbed.

most laudable spirit of tolerance and moderation cannot but be acknowledged in the majority of its enactments. A. D. 1528.

The council sent deputations throughout the canton, with orders to assemble the people in their several communities, or parishes, and then to read and explain to them the decree, and the grounds on which it had been passed; and particularly to declare that the sixth article, which expressed generally the intention of abolishing every thing that appeared to be contrary to the word of God, to peace and union, and to the public good, had a special reference to the foreign subsidies and pensions, by which their independence was sacrificed, and the people engaged in wars which concerned them not: all these the council intended shortly and finally to suppress. The deputies were directed every where to ascertain the sentiments of the people by their votes; and the retaining or immediately abrogating of popish rites in each community was to be determined by the majority—a mode of proceeding which we shall find commonly adopted in Switzerland. The result was, that the reformation was generally received. Proceedings throughout the canton.

The provost and monks of Interlacken, a monastery between the lakes of Thun and Brientz, and also the provost and canons of Zoffingen, resigned their establishments into the hands of the magistrates: and the funds of these and other religious houses were appropriated in the same laudable manner as those of other places had been. From these sources an extensive college was founded at Berne, in which, Hoffmeister, Megander, and John Rellicanus were immediately appointed professors, the two former, of divinity, the Surrender of religious houses. Establishment of a College.

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latter, of the Greek and Hebrew languages. Megander discharged the duties of a pastor, as well as those of a professor, at Berne, till he was recalled to Zuric, in the year 1538. Hoffmeister soon after his arrival wrote to his friends, that he found "the people of Berne less corrupted than those of Zuric, and that they retained more of the ancient Swiss simplicity. I wish," said he, "you could witness the diligence and devotion with which the council, as well as the people, attend the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. I know no one who absents himself: so that I hope those who have been opposed to us will be won over."[1]

Public rejoicings.

Thus was established the reformation of Berne, under which the canton has flourished to this day. The event was celebrated with public rejoicings; the magistrates opening the prisons, restoring the exiles, changing the die of their money in honour of their revolution, and causing the date to be inscribed on a column in letters of gold.[2] For such a celebration they assigned their reasons in the following terms: "If a king or emperor in alliance with us should enter our city, we should remit the punishment of those who had offended against the laws, provided only we had reason to hope that they would not offend again. Now then, when the king of kings, the prince of our souls, the Son of God, who is also our brother, visits us, and brings with him pardon to us who have deserved eternal banishment from his presence, shall we not honour the event by pardoning those who have done us

[1] Ru. ii. 241-2. Gerd. ii. 361. Fueslin, Epist. Reform. p. 60.

[2] Sleidan, 111. (lib. vi.) Ru. ii. 208—220, 241. Gerd. ii. 360—362.

wrong?" And the like sentiment of Christian piety and charity, we are told, was reiterated from friend to friend, in their mutual salutations of one another.[1] A. D. 1528.

The reformation was not, however, established throughout the territories of Berne without opposition being in some places experienced. The Roman catholics, not content with the liberty allowed them to retain their rites among themselves, endeavoured in some instances to maintain them publicly as before. Many shewed themselves particularly indignant at the suppression of the monasteries: and not a few persons, on the other hand, tumultuously demanded that, as the ancient observances were discontinued, the payments to the church should likewise cease. By the united vigour and forbearance of the council the disorders were however appeased, without being productive of any serious consequences. Even in the midst of them that body, still proceeding in its designs, abolished a great proportion of the holidays; established a consistory for the administration of ecclesiastical affairs; and adopted a plan for the regular visitation of the clergy. Their reformation of religion was also attended with zealous endeavours to suppress disorderly houses; to banish profligate persons; and to improve public morals.[2] Further reforms.

The abolition of the foreign pensions and mercenary warfare, which we have seen that the council declared its intention to effect, was not among the least honourable and useful accompaniments of the reformation of Berne. The Bernese deputies at the general diet, held at Lucerne in April, 1528, were instructed to Abolition of mercenary warfare.

[1] Capito in Scultet. 126. [2] Ru. ii. 231—248.

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represent to the cantons at large the evils resulting from the established practice, and to endeavour to induce them to abandon it. Not succeeding in this, they first renounced all such payments for themselves, individually, and their families, and then prohibited them to their subjects. An early opportunity was presented to them of acting upon the resolution they had thus adopted: the king of France having demanded troops of the cantons, Berne refused to contribute any portion of the number to be raised.[1]

Progress of the reformation.

The disputation and the reformation of Berne, with the decided part which that powerful canton now took, could not fail to produce a very sensible effect on all those places where the reformed principles had already found an entrance. Accordingly we find that in most of those which have been mentioned—Basle, Bienne, S. Gallen, Glaris, Mulhausen, Constance, Bremgarten, the Tockenburg, Thurgau, the Rheinthal, the Grisons, considerable advances were now made. It is only to be regretted that the proceedings, particularly with respect to the destruction of images, were in several instances less orderly than might have been wished.[2]

Projected massacre in the Grisons.

On the other hand, among the Grisons a plot was formed for purposes far different from that of offering indiscreet violence to a few lifeless images, even to massacre all the professors of the reformed faith. The bishop of Coire, Paul Ziegler, had for some time withdrawn from his episcopal residence, on account of the prevalence of those principles which were

[1] Ru. ii. 248—253.

[2] Scultet. 126-7. Ru. ii. 253—266, 287—292. Gerd. ii. 263, 367, 368.

obnoxious to him; and the marquis of Muss, a military adventurer who obtained considerable celebrity at that time, aimed to put his own brother Angelo (afterwards pope Pius IV.) in possession of the see—proposing to provide for Ziegler elsewhere. At the same time the marquis was about to marry his sister to the prince of Hohen-ems. Under pretence of celebrating this marriage with due honours, a number of soldiers were to be assembled at Coire, and there employed in massacreing the friends of the reformation. Happily the plot was discovered; and Theodore Schlegel, abbot of S. Lucius, an ecclesiastic next in rank to the bishop, being convicted as one of the conspirators, suffered death for his offence, in the month of January, 1529.[1] A. D. 1528.

Presbyterian form of government introduced.

At Zuric the council proceeded the length of excluding from the magistracy, and from all public offices, such persons as refused to conform to the reformation. A general synod also of the clergy of the canton was appointed, to assemble twice every year, with one of the burgomasters and eight members of the council, (somewhat resembling, therefore, the General Assembly of the church of Scotland,) to superintend the doctrine and manners of the clergy, and the conduct of all ecclesiastical affairs. Circumstances, perhaps, rather than any fixed principles, thus introduced a presbyterian form of church government in Switzerland, even before the time of Calvin: though, it must be confessed, Zwingle wherever he mentions the subject, seems to assume that bishops and presbyters are but one order, and so far holds a parity of rank among the clergy. In Berne a

[1] Scult. 127-8. Ru. ii. 341—343. Gerd. ii. 370.

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similar system was established, but without a general assembly, or synod of the whole church.[1]

[1] Ru. ii. 292—299, 379—381. Gerd. ii. 369. It may be worth while here to transcribe a passage in which Zwingle explains the part that he approved of the state's taking in the affairs of the church; and the rather as he has been often censured for allowing it too great power. "I will briefly explain," he says, "the use made of the council in these affairs, since we are calumniated by some for leaving to the decision of two hundred persons that which ought to be referred to the whole church, consisting of seven thousand. Thus then the case stands. We the ministers of Zuric have some time back freely admonished the council that we consent to refer to them what properly belongs to the judgment of the whole church, on no other condition than this, that in their deliberations and decrees they shall take the word of God for their guide. We have reminded them also, that they on no other terms stand in the place of the church, than as the church has hitherto voluntarily (benignè) consented to receive their decrees. We proclaimed the same sentiments to the church at large; observing to them, that in times like these, when numbers are swayed by perverse affections, which they would vainly have to be taken for the suggestions of the Spirit, many things cannot be safely committed to the votes of a multitude: not that we have any apprehensions that God would desert his church, but because, while all its institutions are yet green and tender among us, the occasions of contention are to be avoided. We have recommended it therefore to the people to leave to the council the regulation of external matters, under the direction of the word of God; promising that, if ever we see the authority of that word likely to be disregarded, we will not fail to cry out and give them warning. To this the church has hitherto consented, not by any formal resolution, but by a peaceable and grateful acquiescence." He then refers to a scriptural example, by which he conceives such a course to be sanctioned; and proceeds: "That the council, in these affairs acts not in its own name, but in that of the church, is evident from this, that whatever is determined here, in Zuric, (as for instance concerning images, the eucharist, and the like,) is left free to the churches in the country, which consist of smaller numbers, to be adopted or rejected, as seems to them fit. And our measures have so succeeded that the blessing of God upon them is manifest.

A. D. 1528.

Warm contests at this time arose between Zuric and Berne, on the one side, and the Roman-catholic cantons, on the other, concerning the countries over which they had a joint sovereignty. The former insisted that the inhabitants of these districts should have the liberty, where they chose to make use of it, of possessing the scriptures, and hearing the reformed doctrine preached; while the latter resolutely refused all such indulgence: and so violent was the disagreement upon this subject that it appeared likely to break out in open hostilities; when the timely interposition of Basle, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel, for the present appeased the quarrel.[1]

Disputes concerning the common bailliages.

On another occasion, on which we cannot perhaps altogether acquit the government of Berne of the charge of too eagerly enforcing the reformed religion, matters came to an actual armament, and to the very eve of a battle, between them and one, at least, of the other cantons. The vale of Hasli, within the territories of Berne, had been among the districts

Armament on account of Hasliland.

We are likewise careful so to instruct the people on those subjects on which the council has to decide, that whatever the latter, in conjunction with the ministers, ordains is, in fact, already ordained in the minds of the faithful." Z. Op. ii. 248: anno 1525. With a passage of so *popular* a character standing prominent in the writings of the reformer, one would have thought it superfluous in his biographer Hess to defend him against the imputation of an "intention to transfer to governments the absolute power over consciences, which the popes had arrogated to themselves." Hess, 159.—The reader will also judge how far Dr. Mosheim's representation can be made to agree with such a passage. He says, "Zwingle, in his form of ecclesiastical government, had given an absolute and unbounded power, in religious matters, to the civil magistrate, to whom he had placed the clergy in a degree of subjection that was displeasing to many." Maclaine's Mosheim, iv. 78.

[1] Ru. ii. 285—287. Gerd. ii. 369.

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that were foremost to embrace the reformation: but, partly from their own fickleness, and partly from the influence of their Roman-catholic neighbours, the people adopted the resolution
June. of renouncing it again; received priests from the cantons of Underwalden and Uri; and even called in the aid of the hostile cantons to support them against their own sovereigns. Underwalden actually granted this aid, and the other cantons shewed themselves prepared to do the same, had circumstances proved favourable. That those who chose to retain the Romish service should be allowed to do so, and no force be put upon their consciences or their inclinations, while the reformed doctrine and worship were generally established, and every means employed to enlighten such as still retained their old prejudices, would have been right, and indeed seems to have been provided for in the edict of Berne: but perhaps Hasliland had deprived itself of the benefit of that provision, by at first voluntarily making its election in favour of the reformation. Still a liberal construction should have been put upon the statute in that respect; but that subjects should thus call in the aid of a foreign power, and that that foreign power should lend its assistance against the lawful sovereigns—with whom it professed to be at peace; this was what no government
Nov. could tolerate. Accordingly Berne, after much forbearance and repeated embassies, prepared to put down its rebellious subjects, and to chastise the bad faith and hostility of its neighbours, by force of arms. But, while the armies lay within sight of each other, and a battle was hourly expected, the troops of Underwalden hastily withdrew, leaving the people of Hasli to their fate: and thus was civil war once more

happily prevented. It does not appear that the rebellious district had any reason to complain of severe treatment in the course subsequently pursued towards it: and, through the intercession of the other cantons, Berne forebore for the present to resent the gross misconduct of Underwalden, or at least agreed to refer the cause to the adjudication which the general confederation had provided for such cases.[1] A. D. 1528.

The Bernese had some further difficulties also with their neighbours on the subject of the suppression of religious houses, and the conversion of their funds to the purposes, to which they appear to have faithfully applied them, of public instruction and the relief of the poor: but they surmounted all the opposition which was offered to their plans.[2]

The Roman catholic cantons having entered into an alliance with one another to retain and support the religion which they professed, the reformed, finding themselves exposed to continual dangers or vexations from the animosity which those powers cherished against them, resolved about this time to form a similar league among themselves. Zuric and Berne were already severally thus engaged to Constance: they now united with one another in an association, into which they received Constance and S. Gallen near the end of the year, and Bienne, Mulhausen, Basle, and other reformed states in the beginning of the year following. The several parties engaged to defend each other in things temporal as well as spiritual; to protect such of their subjects of the common bailliages as might wish for the reformation, and adopt it by a majority of votes; League of the reformed. * June.

[1] Ru. ii. 300—318. [2] Ib. 318—323.

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but at the same time to allow full liberty of conscience to all those who chose to persevere in the communion of Rome: and, on the whole, they made their covenants with this express reserve, that, in all things in which their religion was not concerned, they would evermore observe, with the utmost exactness, all those duties towards the other cantons, to which their confederation bound them.—This treaty was made for ten years.[1]

Marriage of Œcolampadius.

Before we take leave of the year 1528, we may observe, that it was in the month of March of that year, that Œcolampadius, having attained the age of forty-six, and having recently lost his mother, married. The object of his choice was a young widow of good family but without fortune. Erasmus and Œcolampadius both notice the occurrence, each in the manner which we might expect from him. It was on this occasion that the former uttered his well-known jest: "Some call the present proceedings the Lutheran tragedy; but to me it seems rather a comedy, for the plot always ends in a marriage." Œcolampadius thus writes to his friend Farel: "Instead of my deceased mother, the Lord has given me a wife—a Christian woman; poor, indeed, but of a respectable family, a widow, who has for some years had experience of the cross. I could have wished her somewhat older: but I have as yet found in her no youthful petulance. Pray for us that our union may be happy and lasting."[2]

[1] Ru. ii. 338—341, 374. Gerd. ii. 387-8.

[2] Œc. et Z. Epist. 189 (b), 184 (b). Erasm. Epist. ix. 41. The lady in question obtained more than a fair share in the way of matrimonial alliance, whether we regard the number or the character of her husbands. She was successively the wife

The next year was distinguished by some remarkable occurrences in the history of the reformation: particularly the full reformation of Basle; that of Schaffhausen; and the celebrated conference of Marpurg. A. D. 1529. 1529.

The reformation of Basle was an important, and in its issue a very happy, event: but the means by which it was consummated are not such as we can contemplate with pleasure or approbation. Here, more decidedly, it would seem, than in other places, the sentiments of the people had outrun those of the governing powers in favour of a change of religion.[1] The council flattered themselves that in their late decree[2] they had laid the foundation of public quiet, and that the two religious parties would pursue each its own object, in a peaceable manner, consistent with the general repose. But, like all indecisive measures, and attempts at compromise between parties who feel themselves still able to contend, each with the hope of full success, it entirely failed in its object. Both the Roman catholics and the reformed continued to assail one another from the pulpit, and in various harangues, public and private, even with increased violence: till at length, not finding the council disposed to give either of them full satisfaction, they began to assemble in large numbers for the purpose of urging their respective demands. The reformed would have the mass to be immediately abolished, and the preaching of the Roman catholics inter- Reformation of Basle.

of Cellarius, (a reformed minister of Augsburg,) Œcolampadius, Capito, and Bucer.

[1] Ruchat says that in 1528 there were found at Basle 2500 reformed, and only 600 Romanists. I presume he speaks of those who had a right to vote in the popular assembly. ii. 348.

[2] Above, vol. ii. 532-3.

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dicted; arguing that Christian magistrates ought not to tolerate false prophets and idolatrous abominations. The Romanists, on the other hand, were violent and menacing, requiring that no deviation from the received doctrines and ceremonies of the church should be permitted: and both parties avowed their determination to continue to assemble till their object should be attained. It seems obvious that there was among these tumultuous reformers no small infusion of a fanatical spirit; as well as great ignorance of the rules which the gospel prescribes to us for the government of our conduct in all such cases. They would have made their own convictions the rule for other men's consciences; and they imagined that all which appeared to them to be right in itself must be carried into immediate effect by force and constraint, without ever waiting to enlighten men's minds, and thus prepare them to yield the acquiescence of the heart to the proposed improvements: and those magistrates who did not fully concur with these plans they at once denounced as lukewarm or unchristian. But all this was wild and extravagant; contrary to Christian rules, and incompatible with the nature of true religion—which must be "a reasonable service," the result therefore of conviction, or it will be of no worth before God.—The reformed, it seems, apprehended danger to their civil liberties, as well as to their religion, from the influence of a few devoted Romanists in the council;[1] and therefore they were the *first* to assemble: but the Roman catholics first met *in arms*.[2]—The pleasure

[1] Œcol. in Gerd. ii. Doc. p. 139.

[2] This is agreeable to Erasmus's testimony, as well as to that of the reformed writers.

of contemplating even real and important reforms must be very much alloyed, to the pious and well-ordered mind, when they are introduced by such means. Amidst all this violence and confusion we scarcely hear a word of Œcolampadius and the other holy and devoted preachers of the gospel. The only satisfactory points which present themselves are, that no actual tumult took place, and no injury was done to any man's life or goods; (a fact which Erasmus expressly ascribes to the mild and prudent interference of Œcolampadius;[1] and that the final result was the establishment of the reformed religion. The government at length felt themselves compelled to give way to the majority of the citizens. They in the first place, therefore, excluded from the power of voting on the question all those members of the council who were nearly connected by blood or marriage with the Roman-catholic priesthood; after which, resolutions for the suppression of the mass, of the use of images, and of the other observances of popery, and for establishing the reformed faith and worship, were easily carried. A. D. 1529.

The images were accordingly all committed to the flames, or otherwise destroyed on the tenth of February, 1529, being Ash Wednesday: and the following Sunday the reformed worship, with the singing of the Psalms in German, was introduced in all the churches of Basle: and in the course of the week a general amnesty was proclaimed, and permission given to all persons who had left the city to return, with the exception of such only as were Feb. 18.

[1] Ad hanc clementiam adhortante Œcolampadio—"Œcolampadius exhorting them to this forbearance." Erasm. Epist. xxx. 48.

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charged with notorious crimes. The greater part however of those who were of the class of nobles, having refused to return, on account of the change of religion, which was highly obnoxious to them, were permanently excluded from the council. The bishop had lost a large proportion of his power and influence ever since Basle had joined the Helvetic confederation in the year 1501, and had in consequence withdrawn his residence from the city: and henceforth he entirely took up his abode at Porentru, of which, by the reformed at least, he is styled prince, instead of being intitled bishop of Basle.[1] The canons of Basle (among whom Ludovicus Berus was distinguished for learning, and by the friendship of Erasmus,) now retired in a body to Friburg in Brisgau, a town subject to the archduke of Austria, and lived there "with their concubines," till the governor, in the year 1543, compelled them to renounce the "ancient usage" as they themselves styled it in contending against his order, of retaining such consorts.

Remarks of Œcolampadius.

Œcolampadius, giving an account of these transactions to his friend Simon Grynæus, on the last day of the month of March, speaks as follows: "Let others interpret these things as they will, I am assured that they have not happened but under the direction of our heavenly Father; who so governs all things by his secret and wonderful counsel, as to shew that *our* cares are vain, and *our* thoughts foolish. He makes impossibilities possible, and by the rashness of men opens the way for the accomplishment of his own glorious purposes. For a long time past our preachers

[1] Coxe, Letters 16, 18.

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have wrangled, to the scandal of many; now with one mouth Christ is preached. Our churches were divided among themselves; now they are united. Idols every where stood out to view; now they are reduced to ashes, or have sunk into the depths of the earth—shunning the presence of the Lord at his coming. Our academy was neglected; now we mean not only to revive, but to render it distinguished; it being our wish that religion and sound learning should go together." [1]

Erasmus and Glareanus quit Basle.

Among the eminent persons who now withdrew from Basle were Erasmus, who had resided there for several years, and his friend

[1] Œ. et Z. Epist. 178 (b). Ru. ii. 347—369. Gerd. ii. 371—374, and Doc. N°. 25, 26—where the reader will find the accounts given of these transactions by Œcolampadius and Erasmus: as also in Scultet. 136. and Erasm. Epist. xxx. 48. Œcolampadius begins his letter to Capito, in which he relates what had passed, with saying, "We are bound again to give thanks to God for having appeased new and more serious commotions, without bloodshed, and to the great confusion of Antichrist." Erasmus, while describing the proceedings of the reformers with considerable asperity, cannot restrain his sarcasms against the superstition of the other party. "Such insults," he says, "were offered to the images of the saints, and even to those of the Saviour on the cross, that it is wonderful, considering the feats which the saints have been used to perform even on slight occasions, that no miracle was now wrought" by them in their own defence.—Those who have cried out so tragically on the destruction of images, while they, or their party, have not hesitated with unrelenting cruelty to persecute their fellow creatures, might do well to attend to the following sentence of Thuanus—himself a Roman catholic: "If among the Spaniards the breaking or burning of images of stone or wood is thought a crime sufficient to call down the vengeance of heaven, what must we suppose the judgment of God to be concerning the torturing, and banishing, and miserably destroying, of the living images of Himself, men and women, bearing the Christian name, without distinction of age or sex?" Thuan. iii. 691.

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Glareanus. By the removal of the latter, Œcolampadius thought the city suffered no loss. "He is a man," says the reformer, "given to sarcasm, malevolence, and impertinent jesting:" and of him and some others, who quitted Basle before Erasmus did, he "says, Because they see with displeasure that Christ reigns here, they choose to live elsewhere."[1] Erasmus's own account of his departure from Basle demonstrates that he was moved to it by no apprehension of violence or injury, but rather by the apprehension of being identified with the reformers, and being thought to countenance the new order of things; and of thus forfeiting the patronage of the pope and the emperor, and the favour of other eminent persons. He himself thus describes to his friend Pirkheimer a visit which he received from Œcolampadius a little before his departure. "He made me the offer of his sincere friendship; which I accepted on condition that he would allow me to differ from him on certain points. He would have persuaded me not to leave Basle. I told him, it was with reluctance that I quitted a city which, on so many accounts, was highly agreeable to me: but that I could not longer support the odium to which a continuance there would expose me, as I should be thought to approve the public proceedings of the place. When he still pressed me, I told him it must be in vain, for that I had already removed my books and furniture to Friburg (in Brisgau). He then begged that my removal might be only temporary, and that I would return to them. I answered, I shall take up my abode for some

[1] Gerd. ii. Doc. p. 141. Œ. et Z. Epist. 181 (b).
[2] Vol. i. 159.

months at Friburg, and then go whither God shall call me. We shook hands and parted .... If I had assigned any *offence* as my reason for quitting the place, the citizens would have promised me satisfaction. If I had said, that I disapproved the changes made; they would have called upon me for my reasons. I therefore alleged the displeasure of the princes, and the jealousy of the theologians, which I should incur."[1] Œcolampadius writes to his friend Vadian on the occasion: "You will perhaps hear with regret that Erasmus has left us, with some others who were thought by the lustre of their names to do honour to our city. But, as, without being expelled by tyranny, or driven away by violence, or irritated by rudeness, or hurt by disrespect, they thought it good to live elsewhere, what could be done? We must make the best of what we could not prevent: nay we should with thankfulness avail ourselves of any little good that may be connected with it. Now we had better be free from factions, though we lose for a time the company of some learned and eloquent men, than, with an ample supply of such persons, labour under intestine discords, and be distracted with diversities of religion. We bid them therefore farewell.—In the mean time we shall use our best endeavours to make up the loss we have sustained, and to improve our college as much as possible, by calling in the aid of men, who, if not equally renowned, may be not less studious of the public good." He then goes on to lament that, when the emoluments and luxury enjoyed under the papacy were withdrawn, parents were found unwilling,

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Œcolampadius on Erasmus.

[1] Erasm. Ep. xxx. 48. Gerd. ii. 375—377.

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"for the glory of Christ and the service of their country," to devote their children to learning: so that there was "a dearth of scholars as well as of teachers." "But," he concludes, "when Christ shall see good, he will remove this evil also."—Elsewhere, alluding apparently to the same subject, (for the letter is without date,) he says to Farel, "Desiderius (Erasmus) went away suddenly, two days after I received your letter.... I was not aware of his intention, or I should with more anxiety have commended the gospel to him. I fear he is not gone to propagate the gospel. May the Spirit of God, ere he is aware, take possession of his heart!"[1]

Here the two men write each in his own character. Erasmus is, as usual, playful, anxious, as it would seem, to display his adroitness, and to avoid the trouble which the avowal of a decided opinion either on the one side or the other might occasion him, and determined to save his credit with the great, and not to sacrifice his interest. Œcolampadius values the learning and talents of his former friend, will withhold no due respect from him, but can never be satisfied with his character. He cannot conceal it from himself that less renowned men, of simpler aims and more devoted zeal, might be more useful, and therefore more really valuable, than even Erasmus. And, when he thinks of the ambiguity of that distinguished scholar's character, and his very

[1] Œc. et Z. Ep. 198 (b), 205. In another letter of an earlier period the following painful remarks are drawn from him: "Erasmus does not acknowledge us humble folk. He chooses to attach himself to kings and popes, rather than to the feeble flock of Christians: with what conscience he can do this, it is for him to consider. I wish he would only be silent, and not openly flatter the ungodly, who never cease to persecute Christ." Ib. fo. 208.

questionable esteem for the gospel of Christ, he cannot but sigh forth a prayer to God for him, and lament the loss of an opportunity of pressing him more closely upon the most serious of all subjects. This is as it should be. But what Christian would not rather be Œcolampadius, or a much less eminent person, only "following the Lord fully,"[1] than THE GREAT ERASMUS? A. D. 1529.

Among the means taken to supply the loss of Erasmus and Glareanus, and to promote the improvement of the university of Basle, was the introduction of Simon Grynæus and Sebastian Munster, both from Heidelberg, the former to fill the office of professor of Greek, the latter of that of Hebrew.[2] Grynæus retained his post till his death in the year 1541; and Munster, who has been styled the German Ezra, for his skill in Hebrew learning, and Strabo, for his knowledge of history, continued in his office till 1552. Paulus Constantius Phrygio, a zealous reformer, was at the same time appointed to the church of S. Peter at Basle: which he resigned in the year 1535, at the solicitation of the restored duke of Würtemberg, to assist him in the reformation of Tubingen.[3] Grynæus, Munster, and Phrygio settled at Basle.

An order of church service was at this time agreed upon and published at Basle, with some provisions for the repressing of vice and immo-

[1] Numbers xiv. 24.—Erasmus afterwards revisiting Basle, died, and was buried there, in July 1536. Vol. i. 168.

[2] An interesting correspondence is preserved between Œcolampadius and Grynæus on this occasion, which strikingly displays the modesty of the latter learned, able, and holy man, who was subsequently held in the highest veneration at Basle. Œc. et Z. Epist. 178—180, 206. Thence copied by Gerdes, ii. Doc. N°. 27.

[3] Ru. ii. 370. v. 175. Gerd. ii. 377—381. M. Ad. i. 46.

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rality, and for maintaining the discipline of the church.[1]

Further progress of the reformation.

The three powerful states of Zuric, Berne, and Basle being now fully committed in favour of the reformation, this fact gave great encouragement to such of their neighbours as leaned toward the same side, but had hitherto hesitated. It will not however be necessary for us to relate the further progress now made at the various places which have been before mentioned, and at several others which might be added to them. We have not sufficient details to render the accounts either very interesting or very instructive, and they may be judged of by what has been related concerning the leading states. We shall only select a few particulars which may be best worth recording.

Schaffhausen.

Schaffhausen, as has been intimated, at this time consummated its reformation. Our more recent notices of this place have represented it as retrograding, rather than advancing in the sacred cause.[2] There were not wanting, however, persons to contend for the truth. The two parties struggled together for the mastery during the greater part of the year 1529: but at length a decided preponderance was given to the reformed by the timely interposition of Zuric, Berne, Basle, S. Gallen, and Mulhausen. Those places sent a joint deputation to Schaffhausen to exhort the government to a more decided conduct. They represented to the council, that, as it had shewn itself convinced of the truth and will of God, by in part abolishing the mass, images, and monasteries, it became it not "to halt between two opinions," as it had lately done; but to act more firmly

Sept.

[1] Gerd. ii. 381—383. Ru. ii. 373. [2] Vol. ii. 537, 576.

and consistently, and thus to consult at once for the glory of God and the peace of the town. At the same time these states promised their support and protection against all external enemies. The council in consequence assembled the citizens at large, and submitted the question to them. By a plurality of votes they made their election in favour of the reformation, which was thenceforward formally established among them.[1] A. D. 1529.

In Glaris the violent differences which had agitated the canton on the subject of religion were now to a considerable degree settled by an arrangement, which, though it did not amount to a general establishment of the reformation, yet confirmed it where it had already been introduced; required the clergy at large to preach nothing but what was drawn from the scriptures; and gave the reformed ministers access to all parts of the canton.[2] Glaris.

At S. Gallen the magistrates took upon them to reform the abbey church; and on the seventh of March the inhabitants for the first time assembled in it, to the number of three thousand, to hear the gospel preached by their pastor, Dominic Zilli. The examination and exposure of many false relics, which had been held in great veneration, produced a powerful effect. So much was the mind of a Roman-catholic deputy from Glaris struck with the impostures which had been practised, that he renounced his former faith, and joined the reformed. The instructions of Schappeler also, who, as we have seen, had been appointed chaplain to the convent of S. Catharine, were S. Gallen.

[1] Ru. ii. 431—435. Gerd. ii. 384.
[2] Ru. ii. 381—384. Gerd ii. 386-7.

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so successful that the nuns all renounced their profession, and quitted the house.[1]

Bienne.

Bienne still followed in the steps of Berne. Here, as had been the case at Basle, a considerable portion of the council was opposed to the reformation, while the citizens favoured it: and the latter prevailed. Stéhelin, the pastor, was brought before the council to answer for his doctrine. Some members would have sentenced him to death; others, to banishment: but the majority decided that if he could prove his doctrine from scripture he should continue unmolested in his employ. Farel visited Bienne this year, and aided the cause of the reformation there.[2]

Bremgarten. Bullinger the father:

The proceedings at the town of Bremgarten were interesting. Bullinger, the father of the great reformer of that name, had been stationed there ever since the year 1506, and held the office of a rural dean. We have seen his determined resistance to Samson, the vendor of indulgencies, and have noticed some others of his proceedings favourable to reformation. The occasional services of his son also at Bremgarten had been useful. But it was not till this period that the eyes of the father were fully opened to the errors of Romanism, and the truth of the evangelical doctrine: and the avowal which he in consequence made from the pulpit was decided, and very affecting. He told his people that he had preached to them for twenty-three years, and that he had always taught them what he esteemed to be the truth; but he was now sensible that he himself had been blind, as so many others were, and could only therefore lead them on in darkness: that

[1] Vol. ii. 460. Ru. ii. 384—388. Gerd. ii. 384—386.
[2] Ru. ii. 388—390. Gerd. ii. 388-9.

he implored pardon of God; and, by the help of his grace, would for the future shew them the right way of salvation, as taught only in the holy scriptures, and would endeavour to lead them by the hand to Jesus Christ alone." The chief magistrate of the place, hearing him speak in this way, left the church in great wrath, and took measures for displacing him—in which it would seem that he succeeded.[1] Considerable discords followed. The Roman-catholic cantons sent deputies to require the inhabitants to persevere in their former superstition; but they had recourse to Zuric, and, being supported by that canton and Berne, they resolved by a plurality of voices "to abolish the mass, images, and all the trumpery of popery, and to demand a reformed pastor." The images were accordingly broken or burned; Gervas Schuler, from the neighbourhood of Strasburg, and the younger Bullinger, hitherto master of the school at Cappel, were appointed joint-pastors; and regulations were adopted for the improvement of the morals of the people.[2] A. D. 1528. and the son.

Of an occurrence at Wesen, on the lake of Waldenstadt, we have a somewhat amusing account. Wesen and Schennis are situate in the district of Gaster, subject to the cantons of Schweitz and Glaris. Balthasar Trachsel, who, as we formerly saw, was driven from his Wesen and Schennis.

[1] "My father was driven from his country for the confession of the truth. . . . They tumultuously deprived him of his office, and expelled him the town. He came to Zuric," &c. Bullinger junior.—We afterwards find the father, in 1530, established as minister of Hermensweil, near Bremgarten. Ru. iii. 80.—After the defeat of the reformed in 1531, he was excepted from the peace, and retired to Zuric, where he died in 1533. Ib. 476.

[2] Ru. ii. 393—396. Gerd. ii. 392—394. Scultet. 138.

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living of Art, for having dared, the first of all the Swiss clergy, to marry, appears to have introduced the reformed doctrine there; and the inhabitants, unawed by the neighbourhood of the rich abbey of Schennis, whose abbess ranked as a princess, this year abolished the mass. The canton of Schweitz interposed: but the people of Wesen replied, that in all other things they were ready to obey their earthly superiors, but that in the concerns of religion they must hold themselves responsible to God alone. Hence, in the presence of the deputy of Schweitz, some boys were allowed to carry out the images from the church to a place where several ways met, and there, placing them on the ground, to address them thus: "This way leads to Schweitz, that to Glaris; this to Zuric, and that to Coire: choose which you will take, and depart in peace: but if you do not move along one or other of them we will burn you." As the idols shewed no disposition to move, they were set on fire and consumed.[1]

Soleure.

Soleure continues to this day an exclusively popish canton: yet it contained at the period of which we are writing many zealous advocates for the reformation, and even made very promising advances towards a public reception of it. The disputation of Berne had greatly strengthened the hands of the friends of the reformation here: and accordingly we find Œcolampadius very shortly after writing to Capito to look out for some "learned, eloquent, unmarried clergyman, prepared to promote the glory of God, who might be sent to Soleure, that antichrist might be dislodged from that place."

[1] Ru. ii. 397, 399—402.

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There were there, he says, persons of the first consideration, who desired "an apostle," and would take care that he should preach in safety. The opening was one not to be neglected. "The harvest was great, but the labourers were few." "I feel now," says the pious and devoted writer, "what a weighty service it is to find pastors for the churches:" and he adds a reflection deserving the deepest consideration in our own times—"*How much more would a few good and fervent men effect in the ministry, than a multitude of lukewarm ones!*"[1] Opposition however was strong and violent at Soleure. The people and the men of learning were in favour of the reformation, but the higher classes and the canons of the collegiate church were zealous on the other side. While the reformed were few in number, persecution had been vigorously carried on against them, and they had been subjected to fines, imprisonment, and banishment: but they were become more numerous, had greater influence, and were permitted to have a minister to preach to them. But of this minister it was now demanded that he should celebrate mass. He refused, and was supported by his hearers. The matter made great noise; and Zuric and Berne sent deputations to intercede in his behalf. In the month of September the grand council assembled upon the subject: the deputies of the two cantons just mentioned were present: and a hundred select persons from among the reformed, being admitted, demanded liberty of conscience. Their spokesman complained of the persecutions they had suffered, while in the Roman-catholic clergy the most flagitious con-

[1] In Gerd. ii. Doc. No. 26.

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duct was connived at. He represented, that, hard as had been the treatment they had experienced, the conduct of the reformed had always been submissive and dutiful to the government, and they were resolved that it still should be so; but that it was not possible for their minister to say mass, since they considered that rite as an impious profanation. He expressed his earnest wish that the council would follow the example of their allies of Berne, and put the priests to the proof of supporting their doctrines by scripture: those on behalf of whom he spoke were willing to stake every thing upon the event. He concluded with intreating the lords to abolish the prevailing superstitions, and adhere to the pure word of God." The deputies of Zuric and Berne supported the prayer of the reformed; and set forth the advantages which would be derived to the country from such a change as was demanded. These representations had the effect of inducing the council to resolve, that the demand made on the reformed minister with respect to the mass should be abandoned, and to publish throughout their territories an edict permitting all the pastors of churches to preach the pure word of God without restraint, any former decrees to the contrary notwithstanding. The edict was issued, but it could not restrain the violence of the opposite party. They ceased not to maltreat the reformed, and that to such a degree as threatened to be productive of tumults, but for the prompt and repeated interposition of the Bernese. Once they had even come to the resolution of making a general attack on the objects of their indignation: and for this purpose had gone the length

December. of shutting the gates and pointing the cannon

of the town: but Berne sent in its deputies; the council assembled; and the reformed demanded justice against those who had so grossly violated the tenor of the late edict. Through the mediation however of the deputies of Berne, and to set their enemies an example of Christian forbearance, the reformed withdrew their demand, and offered reconciliation, provided nothing further were done to the prejudice of the gospel: and so sensible were the magistrates of the service the Bernese on this occasion had rendered their state, that they sent a special deputation to return them their thanks. Philip Grotz, of Zug, and another pious minister of the name of Other, both of whom had formerly preached at Soleure, but had been banished, were permitted to resume their labours there, and a third was added to them. A few days after a new edict was issued, strongly in favour of religious liberty. It stated, that, "forasmuch as faith is the gift of God's grace, and that no man can either give it or take it away, or, consequently, exercise an absolute sway over it; and that the empire of conscience pertains only to God; the council therefore permit all their subjects to follow the religion which their consciences may recommend to them as the best." They even called upon the people to meet, and express their sentiments, whether they wished to retain the mass or to have it abolished. The people referred the question back to their rulers; who again desired them to vote upon it: when thirty-four parishes gave their votes against the mass, and only ten in favour of it. According to this result the mass should have been generally abolished; (though the particular communities which desired to do so

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might have retained it;) but no further proceedings appear to have been taken: and the next year we shall see the work of reformation in this canton brought to a stand.[1]

Early principle of toleration.

On occasion of the decree just recited we may observe that it appears, not only from this but also from many other documents of the same period, that the principle of "faith being the exclusive gift of God" was among the earliest and most common by which toleration or religious liberty was pleaded for. The conclusion to be established was most just and excellent: but whether or not it legitimately flowed from the premises, that faith being the gift of God man cannot be responsible for the possession, or the want of it, is another question. On very different principles we have lately heard it asserted that man is not accountable for his faith—not accountable to God, it would seem, any more than to his fellow creatures. But on whatever principle, whether that of high religious doctrine or that of philosophical scepticism, such a conclusion may pretend to be supported, it can never stand the test of scripture, of common sense, or of man's own consciousness. He is, he must be responsible for the use he makes of the means afforded him for arriving at the knowledge of the truth. He is and must be responsible for his *indulgence* of prejudices which blind him against the discovery of it. And especially he is and must be responsible for the corrupt likings and dislikings which indispose him to receive it when discovered; incline him to wink hard against the admission of its rays.[2]

Responsibility of man for his faith.

[1] Ru. ii. 450–458. Gerd. ii. 392.

[2] It appears peculiarly inexcusable in a barrister of great

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We now turn to other matters of considerable, though painful, interest. The five cantons which were distinguished by their zeal for the Roman-catholic faith, alarmed at the rapid progress which the reformation was making, entered into an alliance with king Ferdinand, brother of the emperor Charles V, for the maintenance of Romanism; and their treaty stipulated, that whatever conquest should be made on the Swiss side of the Rhine should belong to the five cantons.[1] This treaty, which was signed at Waldshut, April 23, excited great distrust and alarm. Such an alliance of particular cantons with a foreign power was contrary to the fundamental principles of the Helvetic confederation; it was made with that power which had been the ancient oppressor, and was considered as the natural enemy of the Swiss nation; and, as Zuric and Berne afterwards urged, the stipulation just recited could point at nothing but the subjugation or expulsion of the reformed.

Treaty of the Roman catholics with Ferdinand.

and long practice to advance the pernicious dogma here noticed, that man is not accountable for his faith—I presume, on the ground that where sufficient evidence is not afforded him he *cannot* believe, and where it is he *cannot help* believing—since scarcely a cause can come before him which does not afford ample proof how much men are influenced not only in what they *say*, but in what they actually persuade themselves to *believe*, by what they would *wish* to be true.—I allude to Mr. Brougham's inaugural speech at Glasgow.

For notices of the progress which the reformation at this time made in other parts of Switzerland, I content myself with barely referring to the places where they may be found. Ru. ii. 374—381, 444—446, for Zuric and Berne; 390—393, 447—449, for Thurgau, the Rheinthal, and Mellingen; 397-8, for the Tockenburg; 429—431, 446, for Appenzel and Baden; 442—444, for Swartzburg; 458-9, for the Grisons. Also, Gerdes, 384—395.

[1] Ru. ii. 399, 414.

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Occasions of discord between the two parties.

Another subject of dissatisfaction was, that no compensation had been awarded to the Bernese for the offence committed by Underwalden, in assisting their rebellious subjects of the vale of Hasli. On this account Berne now refused to own Underwalden as an ally, or to admit its deputies into the general diet. Zuric felt itself bound to take part with the people of Berne in their resentment; while the Roman-catholic cantons, with manifest partiality and injustice, countenanced Underwalden. Basle, Schaffhausen, and Appenzel laboured to appease the quarrel, and, with the assistance of the deputies of Glaris, Friburg, and Soleure, would have succeeded, but for the opposition of Zuric.

The six cantons last mentioned also joined with Zuric in a deputation to the five Roman-catholic cantons, desiring them to renounce their alliance with Ferdinand, as being contrary to their engagements to the general body of the Swiss nation, and incompatible with the interests of the country at large. The deputation, however was disrespectfully treated; and Underwalden, in particular, like one that is conscious of having done his neighbour wrong, and is determined to cover his wrong by assuming the port of an injured party, added insult of the grossest kind, especially towards Zuric.

Demands of the reformed.

Thus all things seemed again to tend to an open and immediate rupture. The six cantons, however, still laboured to effect an accommodation: but Zuric would hear of none, of which it should not be made an essential condition, that the preaching and profession of the reformed faith should be freely allowed within the popish cantons.[1] Zuric was now evidently

[1] Ru. ii. 409, 418.

taking too high a tone; unduly confident, it is probable, in the great accession of strength which the reformed party had lately acquired. In the present demand the people of that city seem to have gone beyond what one independent state is intitled to require of another, as the term of living at peace with it. Every government is unquestionably responsible to God for its treatment of its subjects, and is bound to him to allow them the free exercise of religion: its refusal to do this may also furnish just ground of representation and expostulation to the neighbouring states: but it must be no ordinary condition of things which can justify their enforcing demands of this kind by having recourse to arms: and, though the conduct of the Roman-catholic cantons at this time, for the exclusion of the reformation among their subjects, was no doubt tyrannical and oppressive, yet it did not in general go beyond what has been usually thought allowable, and even a duty, among people professing *their* religion. A D. 1529.

The canton of Schweitz however, while this irritation prevailed, was guilty of one most atrocious act, against which all the feelings of humanity must be roused, and which the people of Zuric might justly regard as a designed and outrageous affront to them. James Keyser, or Schlosser, a minister of the canton of Zuric, had been called to supply the place of one who had been expelled from Oberkirch in the country of Gaster—which it has already been said was subject to Schweitz and Glaris. He accepted the invitation: but, not being able immediately to remove, he for for a time went over to perform the duty on the Sunday. On one of these occasions, he Atrocious act of Schweitz.

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was seized in a wood by four men, who conveyed him to Schweitz, where proceedings were instituted against him, and he was condemned to the flames. The protest of Glaris, the co-sovereign of the Gaster, was disregarded, and the remonstrance of Zuric, to whose territory Schlosser yet belonged, was treated with derision; and the barbarous sentence was carried into execution. The pious sufferer when first thrown into prison was much dejected: but before the time of his martyrdom arrived the grace of God had revived his courage, and he met his death with composure, invoking the name of his Saviour with constancy, even amid the flames.—Some further acts of defiance and insult determined Zuric immediately to have recourse to arms, though Berne was still disposed to peaceable counsels. Accordingly the former state declared war against the five cantons, and took the field; and Berne, not as a principal but as an ally of Zuric, furnished ten thousand men, in two successive detachments. Other allies also contributed their quotas. Through the zealous exertions of the neutral cantons and other friends of peace, the effusion of blood was however still prevented; a suspension of arms was obtained, even when the armies were ready for battle; and articles of peace, of a very important kind, had they only been adhered to, were agreed upon.—It was a gratifying sight to behold the officers and soldiers of the two opposite parties, as soon as the suspension of arms was made known, associating together with the greatest cordiality: though lamentable to think that such apparently good friends had been led out for the purpose of mutual destruction. This spectacle made James Sturmius, the celebrated mayor

Martyrdom of Schlosser.

The two parties take the field.

of Strasburg,[1] who was one of those that had been deputed to conciliate, if possible, the contending parties, remark, "You Swiss are an extraordinary people: when you are most divided, you are still united, and cannot forget your ancient amity."[2] A. D. 1529.

But little as might be the animosity which appeared to exist between the subordinate parties in the contest, it took fifteen days to arrange the terms of peace between the principals. The chief points of difficulty were two conditions for which the reformed contended with eagerness, and which their opponents as pertinaciously rejected. These were the liberty of preaching and professing the reformed doctrines in the Roman-catholic cantons, and the renunciation, on the part of those cantons, of all foreign pensions, to be enforced by penalties denounced against any of their subjects who should in future accept such payments. The latter, as well as the former, of these stipulations seems to have been more than one state had a right to exact of another as the condition of peace: and accordingly the reformed could not succeed in either of these demands, to the extent they had proposed. A treaty was at length concluded, and signed on the twenty-sixth of June, at Arau—the Treaty of Arau, June 26.

[1] Vol. ii. 135-6.

[2] Ru. ii. 403—417. Gerd. ii. 395-6.—"An eye-witness wrote from the camp, 'It is admirable to behold what order and subordination prevail among the multitude: the word of God is preached daily by Ulric Zwingle, the abbot of Cappel, the priest of Kusnacht, and many other learned divines: not an oath is pronounced, nor a quarrel heard of: we pray before and after each meal: no cards or dice are seen; nor is a prostitute tolerated: we sing, dance, and practise manly sports, and are eager to encounter the pensioners.'" Planta's Helv. Confed. ii. 145.

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same place at which the latest treaty between the reformed and the Roman catholics of Switzerland was also made, in the year 1712. The treaty now formed was styled the Peace of Religion, and was made "the basis and model" Ruchat says, of all subsequent treaties of the same kind among the Swiss; though I confess I find it not easy to trace this fundamental agreement between it, and that concluded subsequently to the defeat of the reformed two years afterwards.[1]

Articles.

It consisted of seventeen articles. The first related to liberty of conscience, and provided that, "whereas faith was not a matter of constraint," the five cantons and their subjects should be left free upon that point; and that among the states in alliance with the cantons, and in the districts under their joint government, where the mass and other popish usages had been abolished, no person should suffer for the part he had taken in introducing the change: but that, where these usages were still retained, they should be allowed to subsist; nor should any minister be sent among the people to teach them other doctrine, unless he were called for by a plurality of voices—which plurality, as long as it continued, should determine the reception or rejection of the reformation. By the second article the five cantons renounced their alliance with Ferdinand, (who had been himself too much occupied in Hungary to afford them any assistance,) and engaged to deliver up the original treaty with him into the hands of the mediating cantons, to be destroyed, before the armies dispersed. A separate treaty

[1] Ru. ii. 418. It would appear that the fourth article of the peace of Cappel expressly rescinded the treaty of Arau. "The late treaty of peace shall be annulled, cancelled, and given up to the five cantons." Ib. iii. 460.

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by which the five cantons had engaged the Vallaisans to support them was to be considered in the diets, "without prejudice to engagements entered into between Zuric, Berne, Basle, S. Gallen, Mulhausen, and Bienne, and some other places." In the third article the six states last named and their allies "earnestly besought" the five cantons to renounce the foreign pensions, and bound them not to enlist any of the subjects of the six states for the military services connected with such pensions. The seventh article engaged the canton of Schweitz to pay to the family of the murdered Schlosser such a pension as certain arbitrators should appoint. The eighth confirmed all the edicts and regulations which the six states had issued on the subject of religion within their own territories—providing only that no compulsion should be used towards any person with respect to the choice of his religion. The ninth and tenth proclaimed a general amnesty for all persons who had assisted either party; and forbad all insulting language or other means of provocation to be used on either side. The twelfth related to an individual, the notorious Thomas Murner. His infamous and inflammatory libels had caused Zuric and Berne some time before to demand his punishment from the government of Lucerne; who had however screened him, and favoured his escape. It was now agreed that he should be compelled by Lucerne to appear before appointed judges at Baden, to answer for his conduct. The remaining articles referred to the arbitration of the mediating powers, the settlement of the question of the expenses incurred by the reformed states in the present armament; and also the accommodation of the

dispute between Berne and Underwalden concerning the affair of Hasli; and some other points of difference.—The peace being signed, the treaty with Ferdinand was given up and destroyed, and the armies withdrew to their respective homes.

The appointed arbitrators, within the prescribed time of fifteen days, decided that the five cantons should pay to the reformed states and their allies three thousand crowns of gold (écus d'or) for the expences of their armament: and that Underwalden should make compensation to the same amount for the injury it had offered to Berne.[1]

Remarks on the treaty.

On reviewing the terms of this treaty, we do not wonder that the Roman-catholic cantons should have felt dissatisfied with it. It was evidently greatly to the advantage of the reformed, who were throughout considered as the aggrieved party, and the party also which possessed the power of enforcing reparation of its wrongs. We might even be ready to apprehend, that more was exacted from the opposite side (particularly with regard to defraying the expences of the armament,) than sound policy would have dictated; because more than they were likely to acquiesce in, or voluntarily to fulfil. But we may feel surprised when we are told that Zwingle and others on his part were dissatisfied, and condemned the treaty. But the fact appears to have been this: long experience had shewn them the spirit of the enemy with whom they had to contend, and had convinced them that there was no safety for them but in depriving him of the power to do hurt: and the present they con-

[1] Ru. ii. 417—428, 528—546; where the treaty is copied at length. Gerd. ii. 396.

ceived to be the proper opportunity for effecting this object. And certainly the events which followed shewed that the reformed had done either too little or too much: they had mortified and irritated their enemy without weakening him. He only waited therefore for a favourable occasion of revenging himself upon them. Accordingly we find the Roman-catholic cantons first demurring, and then refusing, to fulfil the award of the arbitrators against them; and, even at the time they dismissed their troops, engaging to one another by oath to maintain "the old religion," and to punish any (of their subjects, I presume,) who should embrace what they styled "the new one." Nay Ruchat, on the authority of manuscripts in his possession, informs us, that in the month of November following they despatched a secret embassy to the emperor, then in Italy, soliciting him to make war on the reformed cantons, and promising him their aid. It was too evident therefore, from the first, that the wounds of Switzerland were not healed by this treaty of peace, but only unsoundly skinned over. Within three months after it was concluded, Berne was seen again raising troops to enforce the payments awarded to it, and the reformed cantons began to renew their demands to have liberty of conscience allowed within the territories of their Roman-catholic neighbours. For the present however, after repeated diets had deliberated upon the subject, matters were accommodated, and the pacification was preserved—the principal change made being the apparently absurd one of agreeing, that, where the majority had voted either for the reformation or against it, the decision should be final, instead of being open to revision or reversal

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where opinions might have altered.[1] It is obvious that neither party could promise themselves any advantage from this change, except by assuming, that, in the present state of the public mind the first decisions were likely in a majority of instances to be in *their* favour.

The reformed expelled from Rothweil.

If the reformed flattered themselves (and perhaps they had reason to do so,) with such a result, their anticipations were not in all cases fulfilled. In one of the earliest that occurred they were disappointed; and the disappointment was attended with circumstances suited to give the deepest pain, not only to a zealous partisan but to every humane mind. Rothweil, in Suabia, is a free imperial city, which, like the town of Mulhausen, lay without the bounds of Switzerland, but yet was included in the confederation. The reformed in this place, (who had Conrad Stuckli for their minister,) imagining themselves sufficiently numerous to carry the question according to their wishes, brought it to the vote; but by the superior generalship of their adversaries they were defeated. In consequence, not only was popery permanently established, but the papists immediately commenced a violent persecution against their opponents; displaced those who held official situations; threw many into dungeons and chains; and finally expelled them all, to the number of four hundred persons, men, women, and children, from the territory of the city. The fugitives betook themselves to Zuric, Strasburg, Constance, and Berne.[2] Let an

[1] Ru. ii. 428-9, 439—442. Gerd. ii. 396-7.

[2] Among them is particularly mentioned Valerius Anselm, a physician of eminence, and a man of great learning; who, retiring to Berne, was employed by the government to write the history of that state. Ru. ii. 495—497.

instance be shewn, in which a protestant majority, after any of these votings for religion, thus treated a minority of Romanists! A. D. 1529.

Conference of Marpurg.

We mentioned the conference of Marpurg as another notable occurrence of this year. It was held in the month of October, under the auspices of the landgrave of Hesse, between Luther, Melancthon, and others on the one side, and Zwingle and Œcolampadius, assisted by some of their friends, on the other—for the now hopeless object of healing the fatal difference between the two great reformed bodies on the subject of the presence of Christ in the eucharist. We shall not think it necessary at all to enter into the details of what passed at the meeting of these extraordinary men, but shall content ourselves with referring the reader to Dr. Milner's notice of it, or, if he desires fuller information, to some other authors who will furnish him with it. Luther was not a man to be dealt with on such a subject as this, especially when he had already so far committed himself, and so determinately made up his mind. Give him a case in which he was clearly right, and was employed in defending the grand truths of God's word, and no man would in finer style, or more satisfactorily, tread down all opposition: but in a case like this, in which good men might differ, and might labour under strong prejudice, and in which, by whatever means, he had formed a decided opinion, and common fairness could hardly be expected from him. He would pursue the same method in this case as in the former, against men, and under circumstances, essentially different. Accordingly he in the present conference bore down every argument by vociferating the words, "THIS IS

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MY BODY;" while Zwingle in vain urged that he did but beg the question, which was no other than this—in what sense those words were to be understood.—In the end, however, fifteen articles were drawn up, and signed, on the one part, by Luther, Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Osiander, Brentius, and Stephanus Agricola (of Augsburg)[1]; and on the other by Œcolampadius, Zwingle, Bucer, and Hedio. In these articles the parties testified their substantial agreement upon every other point besides that of the corporal presence; concluding with the declaration that, "though at present they had not agreed on that topic, yet both parties, as far as each man's conscience would permit, ought to cherish mutual charity for one another; and also earnestly to implore Almighty God, by his Spirit, to confirm them in the truth." One is pained at the coldness and bigotry of Luther's commentary on this conclusion—for on this question he is ever unworthy of himself. "We have accorded to them," he says in a letter to a friend, "that, though in fact they were not *our brethren*, yet we would not refuse them our sentiments of Christian charity—*which are owing even to an enemy!*"

Beneficial effects of the conference.

Though the conference, as might have been expected, failed of attaining the end proposed, yet the following benefits may be considered as having resulted from it. 1. It shewed the world that the differences between the two parties were neither so many nor so great, as had been represented and generally apprehended. 2. It served to dissipate many of the prejudices and suspicions which some of the leading partisans had conceived against each other; especially those which Luther and his

[1] Not Islebius.

adherents had admitted concerning the general orthodoxy of Zwingle and Œcolampadius. Luther had observed at the opening, that, before at all proceeding to the question of the eucharist, they must first settle those of the divinity of Christ, and his two natures; of baptism; of justification by faith; and others of vital importance; for he understood that the Swiss divines differed from those of Saxony on these articles. Zwingle and Œcolampadius however at once cut short that discussion, by avowing an entire agreement with him on all those points: and Luther afterwards confessed that he had thought much better of these two great men since he met them at Marpurg. Alas! how prone are we, and on the slightest, and often the most shadowy grounds, to admit prejudices and evil surmisings against our brethren; and in our imaginations to swell and multiply the differences between us, where a little candid, and Christian, and cordial intercourse would shew us that we are in the main one; and that our differences neither need divide us, nor do perhaps, in point of fact, make any perceptible variation in our mode of *teaching:* that we are aiming at the same objects, and pursue them by, substantially at least, the same means; and that our points of discrepancy scarcely ever come into view, except when we dispute about them. Perhaps our imagined differences are merely *inferences,* which each supposes must follow from some sentiment held by the other, but which both agree in disowning and condemning.—3. It is stated that the landgrave and his principal divine, Lambert,[1] and almost all the court of Cassel were A. D. 1529.

[1] Above, ii. 397. In a letter written soon after, and inserted in Fueslin's Collection, p. 70—76, Lambert states,

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on this occasion gained over to the doctrine of Zwingle and Œcolampadius concerning the eucharist. The landgrave wrote to Zwingle with his own hand, "that he was entirely of his mind on this subject; and that he altogether disapproved the schism which Luther and Melancthon had made respecting it. You ought not," said he, "to doubt that, with God's good pleasure, I shall remain constant in the truth; and that it is neither the pope, nor the emperor, nor Luther, nor Melancthon, that shall make me change my opinion." Accordingly he afterwards declared, that it was with difficulty he brought himself to subscribe the Confession of Augsburg, without a protest that he was not satisfied with the tenth article, on this subject.—Lambert, though he had received Luther's doctrine, yet came to the conference with a mind open to conviction; and, after weighing every thing that passed, declared himself satisfied with what he had heard from the Swiss divines.[1]

The Anabaptists.

We may close the present chapter with once more slightly noticing the Anabaptists. Œcolampadius and other ministers about this time held a conference with nine of them, who had been imprisoned at Basle. Much extraordinary insolence and fanaticism were displayed on their part, yet some proof was elicited, that, among these deluded people, as among many others who in some measure approximate to them, instances

that the landgrave had ordered that no minister should be restrained for disagreeing with Luther on this subject, and that numbers were daily passing over to the sentiments of Zwingle.

[1] Milner, v. 518—522. (1118—1123.) Scultet. 138—147. Mel. Ad. in Zuing. i. 14—16. J. H. Hottinger, viii. 444—469. Seckendorf, ii. 137—140. Ruchat, ii. 459—494. Gerd. ii. 213—216, 397.

existed in which simple error, rather than perverseness of mind, had led them astray, and in which the portion of religious truth that they received had proved the means of turning them from a careless and ungodly course of life. We must not condemn whole bodies of people in the gross, even where appearances may be most unpromising with respect to the majority. Three of the nine anabaptists here referred to were reclaimed from their errors: the others, who continued obstinate and insolent, were banished. They were admonished, however, that their punishment was inflicted on them not for their religion, or for any thing which they could themselves imagine to be good, but for their seditions, their perjuries, and the other disorders of which they were guilty. Indeed I do not find that at Basle their punishments were ever carried beyond imprisonment or banishment. At Berne, some, who had repeatedly returned in contempt of their oaths of expatriation, were put to death. At Constance, one who had written a blasphemous book against the divinity of Christ, and had indulged himself in a plurality of wives, to the number of thirteen at the same time, suffered death, and apparently died penitent. He condemned his own conduct, acknowledged the justice of his sentence, and spoke of himself as not worthy to walk along the path which led to the place of execution. Yet by the Anabaptists of Holland this man was enrolled among their martyrs, and his history recorded with great applause![1] A. D. 1529.

[1] Ru. ii. 497—511.

CHAPTER XIX.

REFORMATION OF THE FRENCH PART OF SWITZERLAND BY FAREL—PROCEEDINGS IN THE CANTONS TO THE DEATHS OF ZWINGLE AND ŒCOLAMPADIUS.

La Suisse Allemande.

HITHERTO, with the exception of the Grisons, where the Romansh language prevails, our attention has been confined to *la Suisse Allemande*, or that part of Switzerland in which the German language is spoken. But an important work of reformation was at the same time carrying on in *la Suisse Romande*, the western part, where the French is the vernacular tongue. This country consists, or then consisted of the Pays de Vaud, of which Lausanne is the capital, the counties of Neuchâtel and Vallengin, the lands of the prince of Porentru, or bishop of Basle, the governments of Moutiër, or Munster, the valley of S. Imier, or Erguel, the state of Geneva, and the Lower Vallais. In the Pays de Vaud, the three bailliages of Orbe, Granson, and Morat were subject to the joint government of Berne and Friburg; and the remainder of the district partly to the bishop of Lausanne, and partly to the duke of Savoy.

La Suisse Romande.

Reformation of the latter.

It forms a striking feature of distinction between French and German Switzerland, as connected immediately with the object of our

history, that, while the latter furnished so many distinguished men to assist in the reformation of other countries, as well as to effect that of their own, the former was almost entirely indebted to foreigners for its emancipation from papal darkness and servitude. Peter Viret, of Orbe, is the only exception to this observation; and he does not come into view till a later period of our history.[1] The same circumstance which rendered reformation doubly necessary to this country probably prevented the rise of native reformers; and that was the depth of superstition and ignorance in which it was sunk. The chief instrument of its reformation was William Farel, a Frenchman, who was sent into the country by the government of Berne. Farel, whose name is already known to the readers of these volumes, was a man of lively genius, of burning zeal, and of unreserved devotedness. His temperament exposed him to overstep the strict boundaries of prudence; by which I here mean not carnal policy, but true Christian wisdom, which withholds all just occasion, even from those who "seek occasion" against it: yet his character and proceedings not only well deserve such illustration as we may be able to give of them, but on the whole justly claim our admiration.[2]

A. D. 1526.

W. Farel.

Farel was born of a wealthy and noble family at Gap, in Dauphinè, in the year 1489. By the advice of Faber Stapulensis, and other learned men, who perceived his promising

His early history.

[1] Ru. iii. 10, 11.

[2] A life of Farel, by Ancillon, was published at Amsterdam, in 1691, in 12mo. Ruchat tells us he had in his hands a collection of Farel's letters in MS. which abounded with curious and interesting matter, and well deserved publication. —It is much to be regretted that he did not commit them to the press. Such documents from such men are invaluable.

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talents, he diligently applied himself to the study of philosophy and polite literature, and subsequently to that of the Latin and Greek languages, at Paris; where he for some time held a situation in "the Cardinal's college,"[1] and was one of the first persons who professed the reformed religion in France. He himself states, that from the time he first heard of the evangelical doctrine he felt great anxiety about it. A preparation of mind had no doubt been taking place for his receiving it. He passed, according to his own relation, more than three years in earnest prayers to God to guide him into the right way; frequently reading the New Testament on his knees; comparing the Greek text with the Vulgate version; and consulting persons of almost all descriptions, in the hope of eliciting from them some elucidation of the truth and will of God.—This account presents us with another delightful instance of the work of the Spirit of God upon the mind, "leading it, when blind, by a way that it knew not, making darkness light before it, and crooked things straight;" and thus training it for usefulness to others, as well as for the enjoyment of happiness itself. He who thus desires "to know" the will of God that he may "do it" shall not be left in ignorance. He who thus, at once, "searches for wisdom as for hid treasure," and "lifts up his voice for understanding," shall not fail of "finding the knowledge of God."—In the year 1521, Farel was called by William Briçonnet, or Brisonnet,[2] bishop of Meaux, who favoured the reformation, to preach in that city: but two years afterwards, the parliament of Paris having begun cruelly

At Meaux: 1521.

[1] "Le collége du Cardinal le Moine." Ruchat.
[2] Milner v. 152-3. (730.)

to persecute the professors of the reformed faith, Brisonnet lost his courage, and Farel was compelled to leave France. He retired to Strasburg, where he formed an intimate friendship with Bucer and Capito, which was not interrupted but by death. Leaving Strasburg, he visited Basle, and his proceedings in that city have been noticed.[1] As the hostility of the Roman catholic clergy did not permit him to continue at Basle, he removed, by the recommendation of Œcolampadius and other friends, to the neighbouring principality of Montbelliard, which, though insulated in France, belonged to the duke of Würtemburg. Here he laboured with so much zeal and success, under the protection of the duke Ulric, that within two years the whole principality became reformed: and to this day the inhabitants in general are protestants. Here, says Ruchat, we must not pass over in silence the liberality of a merchant at Basle, who, during the year 1524, from the time that Farel left Strasburg till his settlement at Montbelliard, supplied him with books and all things necessary to his support and comfort. Such instances of kindness to the Lord's servants for his sake are written in heaven, and deserve to be had in remembrance and recorded for imitation upon earth.

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Strasburg.

Basle. 1524.

Montbelliard.

At Montbelliard Farel had the benefit of the counsels of the wise and holy Œcolampadius in all his proceedings: and what was the nature of those counsels may be judged from two letters of Œcolampadius to him written, as it would seem, on two successive days in the month of August, 1525.

Letters of Œcolampadius to him.

[1] Vol. ii. 531—533.

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The first letter addresses Farel, as "the faithful dispenser of the hidden mysteries at Montbelliard, and the writer's dear brother," and proceeds: "Perpetual grace from Christ! It gives me inexpressible pleasure to hear that the cause of Christ advances so much by your means. I pray that he who plants by your hand may also water, and may protect his vineyard both from the mischiefs of the *little foxes* and the devastations of the *wild boar*.[1] I speak of the latter in the singular number. It is well for you, who have found so fruitful a field, and that your seed has immediately sprung up: but then shall we be truly happy, when it brings forth fruit to Christ, and if it disappoints not our hopes: at least, if it fail not through our fault; if our ministry be blameless and faithful, such as can never be reproached. Be it your desire to become the parent of many spiritual children, who shall be not so much *knowing* as *good*, that is *truly* learned—*taught of God*. It is easy to instil notions into the minds of our hearers, but to change the heart is a divine work. Above all things therefore it is necessary to pray for the Holy Spirit, and by improving one talent to gain another.... But in order to do this there will be need of gentleness, patience, charity, and above all of faith. Prudence also will be requisite; not carnal prudence, but that holy wisdom which *descendeth from above*, and which teaches us, after the example of Christ, to adapt ourselves to all our hearers.[2] But why should I admonish *you*, who have the Spirit of God for your monitor, and follow his guidance? I have need rather to

[1] Sol. Song, ii. 15. Psalm lxxx. 13.

[2] To "become all things to all men"—without sacrificing truth or principle to any.

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bewail myself, who for so long a time together *speak into the air*, and see little ground of hope among my people. Perhaps I should have taught with more effect in the midst of the Turks. But I wish to impute blame to none but myself. Pray to the Lord that he would not suffer his word to be despised through my inertness or sinfulness... My household salute you." Then, having mentioned some of his employments, he again entreats: "Pray the Lord that I may not *toil all the night and take nothing*.—Farewell in Christ. Basle, 2nd of August."

The other letter is thus addressed: "To William Farel, planter of the Lord's vineyard in Montbelliard, and an able and faithful brother, grace and peace from the Lord Jesus." "I have read," says the writer, "the account of the tragedy (disturbance) produced among you on the Lord's day: and I conceive great hope that the seed you sow will prove fruitful. Those here who are the friends of yourself and of the gospel fear lest the ardor of your zeal should lead you to attempt too much at the outset. Against this I sufficiently cautioned you before you left us, and therefore do not now repeat my suggestions; for I am persuaded you do remember what was agreed upon between us, namely, that the more prone you are to impetuosity the more should you cultivate moderation, and learn to temper the boldness of the lion with the gentleness of the dove. Men may be led, but will not be driven. Let it be our one object to gain souls to Christ: and let us consider in what manner we ourselves should wish to be instructed if we were yet in darkness, and under the bondage of Antichrist. Endeavour to exhibit the very image of Christ

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in your life: I mean now especially by copying him as a teacher. He was indeed severe towards the Pharisees—a race of men who were deaf to reproof: though even to them he was not so harsh as some make his words in Matthew (c. xxiii) to exhibit him: but he conveyed some things through the medium of lamentation over sinners, some in the way of warning, some in an attractive and even entertaining form;[1] so that scarcely ever was his kindness more apparent than when he was surrounded by malignant and insidious enemies. A word to the wise. I know that you would wish to be a skilful surgeon, not a butcher.—To-day I shall enter on the epistle to the Romans. On Sunday I commenced my lectures in the church on Genesis and the epistle to the Hebrews. I scarcely escaped being prohibited by the senate to expound the latter. Some had given out that I meant to undermine the honour of the saints, and to abolish images. I told the officers of state that I was a preacher of Christ, not much addicted to the saints; but that I did not deprive any of those, whom they wished to be regarded, of the honour justly due to them; and that from every part of scripture I could preach the same doctrine, for that every where God (alone) is proposed as the object of our worship. Pray to God for me that I may not be found unfaithful in the ministry which he has committed to me. Farewell in Christ.—August 3."[1]

[1] "Festivitate mellitâ:" referring probably to some of the parables.

[2] Œc. et Z. Epist. 200, 198. In a letter to Luther, dated Whitsunday, probably of this year, in which Œcolampadius introduces to the Saxon reformer some Frenchman from whom he entertained great hopes, he says,

These letters suggest the remarks, that deep humility is the inseparable attendant, or rather an essential ingredient, of superior excellence: and that deep discouragement often accompanies great usefulness. Œcolampadius, let it be remembered, notwithstanding all his sense of unprofitableness, and all his lamentations over his want of success, was "the reformer of Basle and of Switzerland at large;"[1] and the fruit which he brought forth hath "remained" even to this day. A. D. 1526.

But we return to Farel. What induced him to leave Montbelliard I have not discovered: but he returned in 1526 to Strasburg, and thence removed to Neuchâtel. Here he appeared habited as a priest, that he might gain access to preach the gospel; but he was recognized as he was about to mount the pulpit, and was compelled to leave the town. He in consequence went to Berne, and formed the acquaintance of Haller; who, finding his strong desire to advance the kingdom of Christ in those parts where the French language was spoken, advised him to go to Aigle, the only place of that description then subject exclusively to the government of Berne. He complied with the advice; screened himself from the odium under which he lay on account of his religion, by assuming the name of Ursinus, and for the present was contented to support himself, and quietly introduce his doctrine, by teaching a school. Whether or not we can. Farel at Neuchâtel: at Aigle:

of Farel: "Nothing can be more candid than he is. Some wish his zeal against the enemies of the truth were more tempered: but, for my part, I think such boldness (virtutem) admirable and no less necessary, in its proper time and place, than meekness and gentleness." Ib. 200 (b).

[1] Gerd. i. 121.

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approve even these slight instances of disguise, we must admire the man of family, of learning, of eloquence, and originally of fortune also, who would expose himself to insult, if not to danger, and submit to the drudgery of a humble and laborious employment, simply in order to bring the knowledge of Christ to those who were prejudiced against it. Labouring in this unostentatious manner, Farel, we are told, had much success; when, in the early part of the year following, the council of Berne, informed of his zeal and usefulness, sent him a patent, constituting him pastor of Aigle. He hereupon resumed his proper name, and commenced preaching. He encountered however great opposition both from the inhabitants and from persons in power, particularly the syndic of Aigle and the Bernese governor. The latter was on the point of prohibiting his preaching, when the council of Berne again interfered, censured the governor's conduct, and ordered him, so far from obstructing Farel in preaching the gospel, to give him his countenance and support. Still the priests of Aigle and the neighbourhood, who appear to have been too generally men of flagitious lives,[1] opposed him by every means in their power. The syndic also, who was secretly encouraged by the governor, assembled the people of the town and government, and exhorted them not to obey the Bernese in these matters, but to chase away Farel. By this time he had acquired partisans, who were desirous of maintaining his cause: but such was the violence of their opponents that they were in danger of being massacred. Farel was insulted by his ene-

1527. March.

July.

[1] Ru. i. 487-8, 495.

mies in every way in their power. They also tore the edict which Berne had issued; alleged "that it did not belong to the council to publish such orders; that the pope, the emperor, the king of France, and the cantons might be expected to make war on Berne and its associates; and, finally, that the doctrine of the reformers could not be that of scripture, seeing it brought not peace but division." They forgot, or understood not, that that which is indeed the bond of union to the good may have the effect of irritating the wicked against them: that our Lord has forewarned us, that in this very way he came not to send union but rather division: that it is no good state of things when "the strong man armed keepeth his palace, and his goods are in peace," and that the proper way of judging concerning the tendencies of the doctrine must be, to consider its effects on those who receive, not on those who reject and persecute it. If in the former the result is good, the hostility excited in the latter can be an argument only against themselves, and the temper of mind which they manifest.—Farel, in no wise disconcerted by opposition, went on with his work, and laboured indefatigably for the good of such as would listen to him. He extended his services also to Bex, Olon, and other places within the government of Aigle. He wrote earnest and able letters to the domestic chaplain of the bishop of Lausanne, and other ecclesiastics, in the hope of softening their prejudices, and opening their minds to the admission of the truth: but, as far as appears, the only consequences were further insults and injuries

A.D. 1527.

[1] Matt. x. 34—37. Lu. xii. 49—53.

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to himself. He addressed also a brief but forcible exposition of the Christian doctrine to the nuns of the order of S. Claire, at Vevay. At Neuville a mendicant friar preached against him as a seducer, all whose hearers would certainly be damned; and otherwise slandered his character. Farel, having met him at Aigle, engaged in dispute with him, requiring him to prove his charges or to retract them; and offering to maintain his own doctrines from the scriptures. At first the friar would make no answer; but, being brought before the tribunal of justice, he in the end begged pardon of God, of Farel, and of his country; acknowledging that what he had alleged rested on idle and false reports, and that from all which he had known of Farel he must confess both his character and his doctrine to be irreproachable. The man was no more seen at Aigle.

We have a few lines addressed by Œcolampadius to Farel at this place also. "It rejoiced me much to learn that you had found another opening for preaching the word of God. I beseech you then, my dear friend, act boldly but prudently: for the old serpent opposes us with wonderful artifice. We have need therefore of holy skill and apostolic sagacity to resist him. But Christ is greater than he: take *him* for your master, and he will teach you how to proceed.... Basle, December 27, 1527."[1]

At the disputation of Berne: 1528.

Farel was one of those who attended the great disputation of Berne, in the year 1528; and, after the conclusion of the discussion, which was carried on in the German language, and was therefore but little understood by such

[1] Œc. et Z. Epist. 267. To Farel at *Ælin*, the same as Aquileia, or Aigle. Gerd. ii. 322.

persons as had come from the Pays de Vaud, he undertook to maintain a debate in Latin with a doctor of the Sorbonne: but, as the latter acted the part of a buffoon rather than that of a sober disputant on important theological questions, it was stopped, and the records of it were not preserved.[1] After the disputation of Berne, the reformation was established in the government of Aigle, as in other dependencies of that canton, but not without much opposition. Farel had a coadjutor allotted him of the name of Simon. Another reformed minister, named Robert, was stationed at Bex, which had shewn itself zealous in the cause of reformation: and competent salaries were assigned them all.[2] A. D. 1529.

Farel continued to preach in the town and neighbourhood of Aigle during the greater part of the year 1529: but he seems to have felt himself called rather to do "the work of an evangelist" in divers parts of the country, than to remain as a stationary pastor in any one place. Having therefore with great pains provided suitable ministers to build upon the foundation which he had laid, he himself sallied forth to carry the evangelical doctrine into places where it had not yet been heard. In these enterprises he was sanctioned by a general brief or patent from the council of Berne, not only authorising him to preach throughout their territories, but recommending him to all such of their neighbours and allies as were willing to receive

[1] Ru. ii. 202-3. Gerd. ii. 362-3.

[2] Ru. i. 231-2, 238, 343—345, 391-2, 488-9, 493—496. ii. 222—228. Gerd. ii. 269, 270, 391-2. M. Adam in vit. Far. ii. 57.

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him.[1] Persons really competent for such a service, and duly authorized to perform it, might probably be at all times signally useful to the church, in awakening the attention of the careless, exciting the regular clergy to the more efficient discharge of their duty, counselling them, through the help of more extended observation and experience, restraining extravagancies, doctrinal and practical, and preventing divisions.[2] Fortified by this licence and protection, Farel proceeded in the be-

at Morat: ginning of summer to Morat, a town celebrated in the military history of Switzerland, having a small bailliage annexed to it, and subject to Berne and Friburg jointly. Here his success was so great that in a short time his converts felt themselves sufficiently strong to claim the advantage of the late peace of religion, and required to have the question of retaining the

Aug. Romish, or adopting the reformed faith, put to the vote. This singular mode of determining the religion of a country, which, as we have seen and shall further see, was now commonly resorted to, strikingly illustrated the popular character of the Swiss governments, and at the same time savoured strongly of the want of acquaintance with the principles of toleration or religious liberty, which then prevailed.[3] Only one form of religion, it was

[1] "Mais c'étoit sous la reserve expresse, *au cas, ou pourvû que ces voisins le souhaitassent.*"

[2] Such an appointment was sanctioned by our own church in the reign of Edward VI. Six eminent persons (of whom John Knox was one,) were commissioned to go through various districts of the kingdom as preachers. Burnet and Strype. M'Crie's Life of Knox, anno 1551. See also Prac. Obs. on 2 Chron. xvii. in Scott's Bible.

[3] "The free spirit of the Swiss governments is in no instance more remarkably apparent, than by the mode which

imagined, could be allowed to exist in a country; the people were called upon to decide by their votes which that should be; and any other, though it might meet with some connivance for a time, must expect to be gradually, at least, suppressed. This decision however did not yet take place at Morat: but in the beginning of the next year it was made in favour of the reformed doctrine. Even from among the priests Farel gained converts: and his work so increased upon his hands, that he felt it necessary to write to his friends at Strasburg to send him some assistants, who might share it with him. A.D. 1529. 1530. Jan. 7.

About the month of October, 1529, we find him at Lausanne, accompanied by a citizen of Berne. Whether he preached publicly does not appear: but both he and his companion met with such ill treatment from the bishop and the clergy of the place that the lords of Berne highly resented it. They sent both the injured persons back to Lausanne, with despatches addressed to the bishop, his vicar general, his ordinary, the canons, and the clergy at large, and as it would seem, to the council of the city, expressing their surprise at what had happened; making the cause of Farel and the Bernese citizen their own; exhorting the parties addressed to receive them, and to admit Farel to justify himself from the imputations cast upon him, before the public tribunals; and declaring that they would consider any further injury done to these two at Lausanne:

they observed of embracing or rejecting the reformation; as in many other towns beside Morat the question was put to the vote; and the minority generally submitted with perfect acquiescence to the decision of the greater number." Coxe, Let. 49. The closing statement is scarcely borne out. See p. 64, 87.

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persons as done to themselves, and would make the offenders feel the weight of their resentment.—All this must appear to us very extraordinary; overstepping the limits which one state might be expected to observe in its intercourse with another; and exceeding what should be either looked for or desired by the missionaries of the gospel—who could never wish the execution of their commission to become the occasion of involving civil governments in quarrels, perhaps in warfare one with another. What was the consequence of this interference of Berne in the present case, we are not informed.

At Bienne,

Farel soon after visited Bienne, having been invited by the magistrates to preach in their town and the territory pertaining to it. From Bienne he proceeded again to Neuchâtel, then

and Neuchâtel.

lately restored to its own countess. Here he found numerous persons well-disposed to receive his doctrine; but he was resolutely opposed both by the priests and the magistrates, so that he could not obtain access to the churches. Under these circumstances he scrupled not to preach in private houses, and even in the streets, where crowds of people assembled to hear him, though it was in the month of December. He himself thus describes to his people at Aigle what was passing at Neuchâtel. "I would not have you ignorant, my dear brethren, what Jesus Christ has wrought in his people. For beyond all hope he has touched the hearts of many, so that, in spite of the tyrannical orders issued, and of the efforts of the shaven crowns, they have run to hear the word of God, which we have preached to them at the gates of the town, in the streets, in barns, and in houses. They hear with

avidity: and, what is wonderful, they have received 'all that they have heard—not excepting those truths which are directly opposed to the errors that had taken the deepest root in their minds. Join me therefore in rendering thanks to the Father of mercies." [1] A.D. 1529.

Farel now returned to Aigle, that he might at least spend the sacred season of the nativity with those whom he considered as more especially his flock. But he was not allowed to rest there long. In travelling from Neuchâtel to Aigle he passed through Morat: and here he found the council desirous of again having the advantage of his residence among them. They wrote to the lords of Berne, requesting that he might at least be spared to them for a time. Their request was not at once complied with; but, as they encountered much molestation from the Roman catholics after they had received the reformation by the vote of the majority, they renewed their application with success. The council of Berne, in directing Farel again to repair to Morat, expressed a confidence that he would find there "an abundant harvest." From Morat, even in the depth of winter, this indefatigable servant of Christ extended his labours into the neighbouring country, with so much zeal as drew complaints against him from the government of Friburg, and obliged that of Berne to enjoin him in his proceedings to keep strictly within the limits of the late treaty of peace. Several places however, through his means, established the reformation in the usual manner: and in some other instances, where the reformed were numerous, by an arrangement between the

Again at Aigle,

at Morat,

1530 Jan. 22.

[1] Dated, 15 December, 1529. Ru. iii. 22.

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two cantons which held the joint sovereignty, the emoluments of the living were divided between the Romish priest and the reformed minister.

As the spring advanced, Farel proceeded to preach at Neuchâtel, Vallengin, Bonneville, and in the district in which Mortier and Dellemont stand, and which, though subject to the bishop of Basle as its temporal prince, was dependent on Berne in the affairs of religion. Here the people were well disposed to receive a preacher of reformation; and Farel's exertions and success were so great as to excite the spleen of the
Aug. 6. bishop, and to oblige the council of Berne to renew its admonitions to him, though in the
and at Neuchâtel. most friendly spirit, to observe the prescribed limitations. On his paying another visit to Neuchâtel, the clergy were enjoined by the governor not to allow him to preach in the churches, and the people not to hear him. The injunction upon the people however was disregarded, and he preached in the open air with marvellous success. In fact the number of those who came to hear him, and to confer with him on the subject of religion, was so great, that it became indispensably necessary for him to call in the aid of other ministers: and to these the churches were opened. The governor complained of these proceedings to the council of Berne: but his complaint was met by a counter-representation from the citizens, urging that, as they had been in the number of those who assisted the Bernese in the late armaments, they were included in the treaty of peace, and entitled in virtue of it to embrace the reformation in case it met with the approbation of a majority of their number. And in this way, accordingly, the town and

parish of Neuchâtel did shortly after decide in favour of the reformed faith. Violent opposition however was made, and dangerous tumults were excited: but by the interposition of Berne they were appeased, and stipulations entered into between the governor, on behalf of the countess, and the other parties concerned, for securing the rights of each. Still the malcontents were not quieted: and a plot was detected, and by the vigour of Berne defeated, for surprising the reformed with an armed force while engaged in public worship, (when probably a massacre of them would have ensued,) and for replacing all things upon the ancient footing. A considerable part of this agitation is no doubt to be traced to the absence of just views of tolerance on one side as well as the other. When the Roman catholics were outvoted, they seem to have been allowed less indulgence in practising the rites of their religion, than was elsewhere successfully claimed, under the protection of Berne, for a minority professing the reformed faith. Farel continued to preach throughout the country, while a colleague, named Anthony Marcourt, took charge of the church in the capital: and thus in the course of two or three years he effected the reformation of almost the entire principality. Bonneville also followed the example of Neuchâtel, and embraced the reformed religion. A. D. 1530.

In Vallengin Farel was not so successful. While he was preaching there, a priest came and commenced the celebration of mass. As the people appeared more attracted by the ceremonies of the priest than by the sermon of Farel, a young man, who attended the latter, was guilty of the gross imprudence and impro- At Vallengin.

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priety of snatching the consecrated host from the hands of the priest, holding it up to the people, and attempting to harangue them on the folly of regarding that sorry object as their God! The people were shocked and the priests infuriated: the tocsin was sounded, and the alarm-bells rung. Farel in attempting to retire was seized, beaten, and struck with stones. Those into whose hands he had fallen hurried him to a chapel, and insisted on his kneeling to the images of the saints; and, on his refusing to do so, they beat him with such violence that the stains of his blood were long to be traced upon the walls of the chapel. They then threw him into a dungeon: from which he was however released through the intercession of his friends at Neuchâtel; and he resumed his work in their country.—Such are the obstructions to useful labours which an intemperate and misguided zeal often raises up. While we admire, and commend to imitation, a zeal which is at once ardent and well-regulated, let us not forget that Christian meekness and wisdom have their proper province: and that if, as we have been told, '*prudence* does not often convert men,' imprudence may frequently prevent their conversion. The prayer of the apostle for his people was, "that their love might *abound, in knowledge and in all judgment.*"[1]

Erguel.

Bienne, it may be remarked, uniting itself with Berne, manifested much zeal in the cause of religion; and at this time effected the reformation of the valley of S. Imier, or Erguel, where it had some years before attempted to correct the dissolute habits of the clergy.[2]

[1] Ru. iii. 13—50, 173—191. ii. 442—444. Gerd. ii. 421-2.
[2] Ru. i. 484—486. iii. 51—55.

A. D. 1530.

Remarks on the account of Farel's labours.

Most of the transactions which we have here recorded, placing out of the account some disorders, and some want of due tolerance (the fault of the times,) among the reformed,[1] and not a few acts of violence in the opposite party, are satisfactory as far as we are informed concerning them: but the accounts want particularity, and that discovery of the feelings of heart with which the truth was received, and of the effects which it produced on temper and character, that even very brief relations in the Acts of the Apostles commonly display. We hear somewhat too much of what the council of Berne did, and what the council of Friburg and other powers were constrained to concur in or submit to; and more, in short, of the conversion of communities from popery to the reformed faith, than of that of individuals from sin to righteousness; and, though the former change is highly important, especially as tending to the latter, yet this alone, we must remember, answers the design of the gospel. What is here the subject of regret must almost always be the case in history. We are not left however without the most satisfactory proofs of the zeal and piety of Farel, and we contemplate with joy and gratitude the abundant success with which his labours were crowned. To them it is greatly owing that these parts of Switzerland to the present day profess the reformed faith; and we cannot but conclude that such changes were not made, in the circumstances in which they now took place, without a powerful sanctifying influence of divine grace on the hearts even of great numbers.—We now return to the other parts of Switzerland.

[1] Ru. iii. 41, 184-5.

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Church discipline, and excommunication. 1530.

A subject which much engaged the attention of the Helvetian churches at this period was the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, including the excommunication of notorious offenders, according to the practice of the primitive times. This was, and ever must be, found a question of great practical difficulty. Repeated consultations of the most eminent of the reformed ministers were held upon it,[1] without their being able to come to any satisfactory decision, or to adopt any common plan. On the one hand, it was felt that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to find in the churches, generally, pastors who, even with the advice and cooperation of some of the more select lay members, would have the firmness uniformly, without fear, favour, or affection, to put in practice a system of strict discipline towards all, of whatever rank or station, who should become obnoxious to it. On the other hand, from the long and bitter experience which the church had had of the abuse of a pretended discipline, to the vilest purposes of tyranny, extortion, and private revenge, a dread was felt of establishing a system which might again become liable to such perversion. Further, even well-meaning persons, not sufficiently enlightened, and taking too narrow views, would be in danger of applying the rod of discipline too indiscriminately: and an error on the side of indulgence was felt to be preferable to excessive severity. The Anabaptists probably increased the apprehension of danger in this way; as they would have confined the Christian church within the narrowest limits, and even refused intercourse

[1] At Arau, at Basle twice, at S. Gallen twice, and in Thurgau.

with the greater part of professed Christians: while they at the same time denied to the magistrate all power whatever, whether to restrain vice or for any other purpose. The best and ablest men therefore differed in opinion; leaving, by their discussions, the restoration of the "godly discipline of the primitive church" to be regarded as a blessing rather to be "wished"[1] than hoped for. The great advocate for its revival was Œcolampadius: and he succeeded in establishing at Basle, under the sanction of the council, a scheme of discipline, the operation of which, for the short time that his premature death allowed him to make trial of it, gave him great satisfaction. Zwingle took the contrary side. He thought the plan impracticable, and not adapted to the present state of the church. "Our situation," he conceived, "resembled that of the church in the times of the prophets, under kings who patronized it, more than its condition in the age of the apostles, when the Christian churches were insulated bodies, under governments from which they could receive no succour." He rather addressed himself therefore to the civil magistrates, exhorting them to repress vice and immorality, and to punish gross offenders, than to the churches, as expecting them to separate all unworthy members from their society.[2] Among the epistles of Œcolampadius and Zwingle, we have preserved to us a copious oration of the former on this subject, addressed to the council of Berne; the principles of which appear to be extremely good, and such as it were to be wished, at least, that it might be found practicable to carry into

A. D. 1530.

Dec. 14.

Sentiments of Zwingle:

and of Œcolampadius.

[1] Commination Service.

[2] Ru. iii. 84—93. Gerd. ii. 422—424: also, 381—383.

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effect. On the position, that what may or even can be done by the magistrate does not supersede, indeed that it scarcely at all takes the place of, a well-administered church discipline, he seems decidedly to have the advantage of his distinguished friend and brother. He would have the exercise of discipline, especially where it proceeded to excommunication—by which is to be understood simple exclusion from church privileges[1]—to be entrusted to no one or two individuals. So far from confining it to the clergy, he would gladly, could it have been done consistently with the duty which manifestly devolves in the first instance upon them, have exempted them from the painful and often invidious office: but certainly he would have the best and wisest of the members of their congregations associated with them in administering it. It would seem that the power of excommunication had been granted to him and his colleagues, by the council, some time before;[2] but that they had abstained from using it: "for they sought not authority for themselves, but for the church," as *a Christian society*. "They would rather resign what was lawful, and had been allowed them, than open the door to tyranny. With what decency then," he asks, "could they be charged with wishing to restore the despotism exercised under the papacy?" He enlarges on the necessity of the practice; on the abuse and the proper use of it; and on the manner in which it might be

1529. Apr. 1.

[1] Some would have gone the length of excluding the excommunicated from all the common services of the church, (and thus from the means by which they were to be led to repentance!) and also from all civil employments. Ru. iii. 90.

[2] Ru. iii. 89.

introduced and conducted. On the different provinces of civil and ecclesiastical discipline—that of the magistrate and that of the church—he observes, "The former tolerates all who infringe not the public peace: the latter animadverts on those who manifestly act unworthily of Christ's disciples. The magistrate must punish the criminal, even though he repent of his crimes, that others may not venture to imitate them: but all which the church seeks is to bring offenders to repentance: and then she restores the penitent. From the former, the transgressor having suffered his punishment has nothing more to fear (though his mind may remain unchanged): from the latter, the exclusion must be permanent, and even bind him over to future punishment, except he repent."—On the whole, he would conjure all concerned not to suffer the neglect of discipline to go down as a precedent to posterity, who, he says, "convert the *faults* of their predecessors into *rules* for the government of their own conduct."[1]

A. D. 1530.

Civil and ecclesiastical discipline distinguished.

But the wisdom and moderation with which Œcolampadius wished even his most favourite views to be carried into effect, as respects this very delicate subject, as well as his sanguine expectations of success, are made further evident by some of his letters which refer to it. Thus he writes to his friend Somius of Ulm, March 29, 1531: "You wish to know how the business of excommunication proceeds. Be

Discipline established at Basle.

[1] "Quæ in præcedentium sæculorum ignaviam, quasi in legem respicere solet." Œ. et Z. Epist. fo. 42—46. The magistrate is to restrain evil, not as a violation of religious duty, simply considered, but as contrary to the well-being of society: the church, as against religion and the safety of souls.

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of good courage: all is safe. I never repented less of any undertaking in my life: none has promised better fruits. Not one person in ten fails of humbling himself, even on the first admonition; or even of expressing his thankfulness for it. We now leave no opening for the Anabaptists. The church again begins to appear possessed of some authority. Offences are by degrees prevented or removed. To some we appear to have been too indulgent to the weak; but this is much better than by too great severity to convert ecclesiastical discipline into tyranny; or, on the other hand, quite to surrender the keys of the church. It is far preferable to follow the spirit of the divine command, which directs us to admonish an offending brother once and again, than to put too rigid a construction upon particular words. You think your own church, as being more feeble, unable to bear such a burden. So many suspected it would prove here; but they did not succeed in persuading me that Christ, our lawgiver, who *quenches not the smoking flax*, was unacquainted with our weakness. Good men, who disapproved the measure at first, now highly commend it. The impious sons of Belial, and those who are *without*, never approved Christ's words: and we must not regard *them*. —You will see what was the nature of our edict; by what methods we proceed, and against what offences: and with how much moderation the whole is administered, I will explain to you when I have leisure." [1]

Wisdom and moderation of Œcolampadius.

It seems to be with great justice that Gerdes remarks upon Œcolampadius: "Numerous instances forbid us to entertain a doubt of the

[1] Œ. et Z. Epist. 205. Gualter speaks of Œcolampadius as forced to relinquish his discipline again. Fueslin, p. 481.

virtue and moderation of this great man, which he so manifested throughout the whole progress of the reformation at Basle, that to his admirably meek and prudent counsels it is to be ascribed, under God, that all the disturbances there were so happily appeased, and that the most threatening dissentions turned to the furtherance of the gospel:" [1] and when, as formerly intimated, we compare with all this the want of firmness manifested in his earlier course, we must feel how much we are bound to magnify the grace of God in him. A. D. 1530.

The Anabaptists still continued to occasion much trouble to the reformed churches. In some places they appear to have been connived at or even countenanced by the papists, as a means of obstructing the reformation by the scandals which they occasioned: while many favoured their progress in the hope of relieving themselves, by their aid, from the payment of tithes and other tributes to both church and state. The Anabaptists.

At Soleure, in particular, their influence was felt to be very pernicious in both these ways; and it contributed much to bring the promising openings of the reformation in that canton to an unfavourable issue. We have seen that the reformed had become so numerous in the town of Soleure as to be allowed a second minister; and that there were even indications of the reformation being established by a plurality of votes. It seems to have been in the canton however, rather than within the town, that their strength chiefly lay. At Soleure itself the principal inhabitants were generally hostile; and many of this class, from one or other of the Decline of the reformation in Soleure. 1530-31.

[1] Gerd. ii. 383.

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motives just mentioned, now supported the Anabaptists. The reformed however solicited the assistance of Haller from Berne; and a promise of protection was even obtained for him from the council of Soleure. He accordingly visited that town, and preached there for some time; but without any very promising appearances of success. Considerable asperity of feeling was manifested between the two parties: and one morning the whole town was thrown into confusion by the announcement of the extraordinary fact, that their patron saint S. Urse—of course his *image* is meant—was found in the principal church covered with perspiration; which was explained as proceeding from his distress at witnessing the progress of heresy among the people of his charge! The fact was, that some holy water, which had been sprinkled upon the altar and the statue, had congealed into ice, through the severity of the weather, and therefore remained visible to such as resorted to the place. But the contrivance answered the purpose of those who knew how to avail themselves of the credulity of the people. The magistrates of the papal party, in concert with the provost and canons, caused the bells to be tolled, the mass to be celebrated, and processions to be made in honour of their "celestial prince," and to relieve the disquietude he had felt on their account. The excitement of the people was excessive: Haller with the other reformed preachers was in danger of being massacred; in consequence of which he returned to Berne; and very violent proceedings followed. On the demand of the reformed a public disputation was indeed agreed to; but the council fixed for it a day at nine months' distance: and in point of fact it never took

1530. Jan.

place—as probably it never was intended that it should. As far as the town of Soleure was concerned, the reformed ministers appear to have been silenced: and most unhappily also, in the midst of these disturbances and dangers from without, the ministers who remained in the canton, fell into disputes among themselves on such frivolous questions as whether they should follow the usage of Zuric, of Berne, or of Basle, in the administration of the Lord's supper. Such infatuation could lead only to a fatal result: and accordingly it drew from the good Œcolampadius a strong and mournful expostulation. Thus by a combination of painful occurrences were the hopes that had been cherished, of seeing the reformation established in Soleure extinguished; and to this day those hopes have never been revived, or at least never realized. [1] A. D. 1530.

Visitation of the churches of Basle.

Œcolampadius was this year deputed, accompanied by a member of the council, to visit the several churches in the canton of Basle, for the purpose of reforming abuses and introducing beneficial regulations.[2] In doing this he met with considerable obstruction and insult from the Anabaptists. Basle was also at this time infested with the presence of the well-known heretic, Michael Servetus, who there published his first work against the Trinity. Œcolampadius, by the direction of the magistrates, examined his book, and held a con-

Servetus.

[1] Ru. iii. 151—173, 291—293. Gerd. ii. 419, 420. Œc. et Z. Ep. 176 (b). Œcolampadius's letter of paternal expostulation to the ministers of Soleure will be given in the next chapter.

[2] Of the genuine spirit of primitive episcopacy in which Œcolampadius discharged this duty, we shall obtain a fine view from one of his own letters in the next chapter.

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ference with him. Servetus, with the chicanery usual among such men, was willing to acknowledge Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, but, when the reformer demanded of him "whether he acknowledged Christ as the *eternal* Son of God, of the same essence with the Father," he complained that a man of Œcolampadius's reputation for mildness and charity should press him so hard. Œcolampadius replied, that "he wished to be mild and forbearing in other cases, but not towards those who blasphemed his Lord and Saviour." Servetus withdrew from Basle into Alsace.[1]

Diet of Augsburg.

It will be remembered that it was in this year also that the diet of Augsburg was held, to which the celebrated Confession of the protestants was presented. As that occasion made the inconveniences which resulted from the unhappy division between the reformed bodies of Germany and Switzerland to be felt in the most sensible manner, it called forth some important writings, and thus perhaps laid the basis of some considerable changes, relative to the question at issue between the two parties. Melancthon sent to his friend Oswald Myconius, at Zuric, a collection which he had made from the fathers of passages relating to the eucharist, accompanied by some sharp remarks on the sacramentarians, (as he called those who held the doctrine of Zwingle,) and on Carolstadt whom he affected to consider as their head. This drew from Œcolampadius a much more copious collection and illustration of the sentences of the fathers upon the subject, in the form of a dialogue, in which Melancthon's essay, his letter to Myconius, and some further corre-

Melancthon and Œcolampadius on the Eucharist.

[1] Ru. iii. 94—108. Œc. et Z. Epist. 188 and 173.

spondence are introduced. This work is said to have produced a strong impression, not only on others, but on Melancthon himself. He attempted no reply to it: and Ruchat says, "The next year he began to open his eyes, and to shew that he was no longer satisfied with the doctrine of the corporal presence, and would have been glad to see the two parties united:" and again, "For ten succeeding years Melancthon made it his great business to investigate the sentiments of the ancients on this subject."[1] A good spirit appears to pervade Œcolampadius's work. He treats Melancthon with respect and kindness, though he complains of his sharpness on this subject, and cannot but consider him as being hitherto very moderately skilled in the fathers.[2] It may be observed, that in this work Œcolampadius explicitly disavows making the sacrament so simply "a commemoration" as to imply that Christ was not "spiritually present" in it, or that it was not "made efficacious in the faithful to excite and increase faith."[3]

A. D. 1530.

[1] Ru. iii. 112, 137.

[2] "Ostendam quam incircumspectè et αμυήτως in sacris doctoribus versatur." fo. 135. This dialogue is to be found in the volume of the Epistles of Œcolampadius and Zwingle, fo. 130—168. It is in the epistle to Myconius on this occasion that Melancthon speaks so harshly and unjustly of Wycliffe. "I have looked into Wycliffe, who excites much disturbance (valdè tumultuatur) in this controversy: but I have found in him many other errors, from which a judgment may be formed of his spirit. He neither held, nor at all understood, the righteousness of faith, &c." ("Prorsus nec intellexit, nec tenuit fidei justitiam.") Fo. 135 (b).—Œcolampadius in this work, alluding to the offence Erasmus had taken at his calling him "*Our* great Erasmus," says, "It is unpleasant to him to be named by me, more unpleasant to be censured, but most of all unpleasant to be praised." fo. 131.

[3] Ib. fo. 141. See also fo. 127-8: and above, vol. ii. 473.

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Discords of the reformed and the popish cantons.

The remainder of this chapter must be almost entirely of a nature remote from the wishes, and painful to the feelings, of that class of readers whose instruction and gratification we would especially consult. The year 1531 was occupied with feuds and contentions, or with negociations in which it was in vain attempted to appease them: the whole ending in a calamitous civil war. Such materials must be allowed to take up but little space in this work.

The late peace had indeed suspended hostilities, but it had not pacified men's minds. Rather it had chafed the temper of the popish party. They had agreed to it from necessity and not from inclination; and they could not but feel that it tended to advance that cause against which they cherished a deadly hate. As will always be the case under such circumstances, various things occurred, both on the one side and the other, to exasperate the feelings of the parties. The reformed cantons were irritated by innumerable and virulent calumnies propagated against them, and countenanced rather than checked by the heads of the cantons opposed to them. The ministers and professors of the reformed doctrine who resided under the jurisdiction of papal powers were subjected to increasing persecution. On the other hand, the Roman-catholic party were not left without just cause of complaint. The reformed, and particularly Zuric, as we have seen, made larger demands than they were entitled to do respecting the propagation of their doctrines in the popish cantons; and in the common bailliages they seem to have assumed more than of right belonged to them as only joint sovereigns. But particularly the abbey of S. Gallen furnished a ground of quarrel, which

Case of the abbey of S. Gallen.

perhaps more than any other proved the immediate occasion of hostilities. This princely establishment was under the protection of the four cantons of Zuric, Lucerne, Schweitz, and Glaris—two of them reformed, and two Roman-catholic. The abbot having died in the year 1529, the four cantons had differed respecting the appointment of his successor. Zuric and Glaris would have suspended the election, in hopes of reforming the abbey and its territories: but Lucerne and Schweitz encouraged the monks to proceed to an immediate election—which they accordingly did. Various altercations followed, and the newly appointed abbot appears to have given general offence by withdrawing into the territories of the house of Austria, taking with him the writings and most valuable treasures of the abbey, even before he had obtained confirmation from the pope. It was then agreed that the abbey and its dependencies should be placed under the administration of an officer, deputed successively by each of the four cantons. Zuric and Glaris however, without communication with the other two cantons, entered into arrangements with the communities subject to the abbey, by which the above-named officer was to be considered as, for the time being, the supreme governor of the country; (which was, in effect, claiming for the cantons the sovereignty, and not merely the protectorship of the territories of the abbey;) that on his entrance upon office he should take an oath to leave the people in possession of the word of God, and of such religious observances as they had received; that the council of the country should consist of twelve judges attached to the word of God; that the pastors should

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be elected by the respective congregations, and admitted at Zuric, the town of S. Gallen, or Constance; that several burdensome services imposed on the people should be discontinued; that the jewels, ornaments, and superfluous goods of the churches should be employed for the benefit of the poor; and that no new administrator should be admitted till he had sworn to observe these regulations. The abbot, on hearing that such measures were adopted, immediately betook himself to Augsburg, to the emperor, (from whom he had obtained investiture,) to solicit his protection; and received a favourable answer: but in his way back he was accidentally drowned. A successor however was immediately, whether very regularly or not, elected by the monks who had followed the late abbot to his German residence. Zuric and Glaris now proceeded still further. They took upon them to dispose of the abbey to the town of S. Gallen; to release the people of Tockenburg from their dependence upon it; to assign pensions out of its funds to such of the monks as had embraced the reformation; and to dispose of its remaining revenues for public uses! When the administrator from Zuric was to have been succeeded by one from Lucerne, the latter, as he refused to take the oath prescribed him in the way above related, was excluded till he should submit to do it. One is utterly at a loss to conceive under what pretences Zuric and Glaris could justify, even to themselves, such proceedings as these. They rejected, indeed, the two late elections to the office of abbot, as irregular and illegal, and they claimed to protect the reformed inhabitants of the territories of the abbey: but neither

Unwarrantable conduct of Zuric and Glaris.

of these pretensions could at all warrant the measures which they adopted. It seems to have been their determination to secularize the abbey, recognizing its head, probably, as a temporal prince, but disowning his spiritual authority, and abolishing the monastic institution over which he presided: for they argued that the temporal and spiritual power ought not to be united in the same hands. It is lamentable when religion is thus made the pretext for manifest injustice and usurpation: and such conduct must ever be reprobated, on whatever side it is found. A.D. 1531.

These with several other subjects of difference were brought before a general diet of the cantons, assembled at Baden on the eighth of January, 1531; and Berne and Basle endeavoured to induce Zuric to come to an accommodation with its opponents: but the attempt was unavailing.[1]

War of Muss.

Another occurrence excited strong feelings of disgust towards the cantons of the other party. It arose out of what has been called the war of Muss. John James de Medicis, an unprincipled adventurer, in no way connected, it would seem, with the illustrious house whose name he assumed, had been rewarded by the emperor Charles V. with a small principality on the lake of Como. He assumed the title of marquis of Muss: and, being ambitious further to aggrandise himself at the expence of a weak neighbour, he seized upon the Valteline, a province belonging to the Grison league. The Grisons, in virtue of their treaties, claimed the assistance of their allies, the Swiss. The five popish cantons alone refused their aid, alleging

1531. March.

Alarming conduct of the popish cantons.

[1] Ru. ii. 435—439. iii. 293—319. Hess, 290—298.

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the dangers to which, as they pretended, they were themselves exposed from their reformed neighbours. The other eight cantons promptly marched to the succour of the Grisons; recovered the Valteline; and speedily brought their expedition to a successful issue.

Nothing could be more contrary to all the principles of the Swiss confederation, than the conduct of the five cantons on this occasion. Thus to desert their ally in a case of gross injury and great emergency was felt to be a shameful violation of their engagements: and, as no sufficient reason for their conduct was apparent, it excited strong suspicion of their entertaining designs which they would not avow. "If they acted thus towards an ally against whom they had no cause of complaint," it was argued, "what were the reformed cantons to expect from them? Was there not reason to believe that they were secretly meditating actual violence against them?" Other circumstances corroborated these fears.

Persecutions.

The persecutions of the reformed within the territories of the five cantons recommenced with more fury than ever. It seemed as if the Romanists, assured of some foreign support, thought themselves excused from keeping any measures towards the objects of their hatred. On the other hand, the victims of their intolerance loudly implored the protection of Zuric, and they found in Zwingle an advocate equally zealous and eloquent. "These are Swiss," said he, "whom a faction is attempting to deprive of a portion of the liberty transmitted to them from their ancestors. If it would be unjust to attempt to force our adversaries to abolish the Romish religion from among them, it is no less so to imprison, to

banish, and to deprive citizens of their property, because their consciences impel them to embrace opinions which are obnoxious to their oppressors."[1] A. D. 1531.

Thus was each party inflamed against the other, and neither could be justified from the charge of injurious conduct. The people of Zuric were so much bent upon bringing the quarrel to the decision of the sword, that they sent deputies to all the members of the reformed league to stimulate what they thought their too languid zeal. At the meeting however of these states, held at Arau in the month of May, Zuric stood alone in voting for immediate war. It was resolved that the deputies should refer it to their respective governments to decide, whether circumstances warranted their having recourse to the means of bringing the refractory to reason, which the late treaty of peace sanctioned in a case of emergency, by interdicting all commerce with the five cantons. The measure here referred to was one of extreme severity to those cantons; since the greater part of them having, from the nature of their country, little of native growth beside their flocks, they depended on their neighbours for every other necessary of life. This species of blockade was actually adopted: but, so far from producing the intended effect, of bringing their adversaries to a more submissive and reasonable temper, it drew general odium on those who had inflicted the calamity, and roused to the highest pitch the indignation and resentment of those who suffered from it. They resolved to listen to no terms of accommodation, to which the removal of the

Blockade of the five popish cantons.

[1] Hess, 298—300. Ru. iii. 332—342.

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interdiction of commerce was not made a preliminary.

Sentiments of Zwingle.

We have of late had little opportunity of learning the sentiments of Zwingle on passing events. We feel pleasure in being here informed, that he was averse to these extreme measures. After the prohibition of intercourse had been read in the church on the eve before Whitsunday, he the next day preached openly against it. "He could have wished," he said, "that the reformed should meet the insults and injuries offered to them, with a patience and meekness becoming the gospel which they professed."[1] This is another proof that he must not be made responsible for all the proceedings of the council of Zuric, even where they might be considered as in some degree bearing upon the question of religion. It is the second instance in which we have heard him openly condemn from the pulpit the measures of government.

His painful situation.

Indeed the situation of the reformer was at this period in the highest degree painful and perplexing. There were many persons at Zuric who in their hearts disliked the reformation to which they outwardly conformed, and for which they had even expressed some zeal. Many, who possessed wealth, and who were ambitious of adding to their store, repined at the loss of the foreign pensions; which they ascribed to Zwingle. Numbers more were irritated by his severe and impartial rebukes of the sins in which they chose to live. As he had been the great prompter of the reformation, which now threatened to involve them in trouble, they cast upon him the blame of what-

[1] Ru. iii. 342—351. Hess, 301—305.

ever they suffered or apprehended, though they rejected his counsels, which might have proved the means of extricating them from their difficulties. In short he felt himself regarded as "the Jonah" who had raised the storm, and whom many, with less reluctance than the heathen mariners shewed, would have sacrificed in the hope of appeasing it. "Fearing that he could no longer usefully discharge the duties of his office, he took the resolution of quitting Zuric. In the month of July he appeared before the council, and thus addressed them: 'For eleven years I have announced to you the gospel in all its purity: as became a faithful pastor, I have spared neither exhortation, nor reprimands, nor warnings. I have represented to you, on many occasions, how great a misfortune it would be to all Switzerland that you should again allow yourselves to be guided by those whose ambition is their God. You have made no account of my remonstrances: I see introduced into the council men destitute of morality and religion, who have nothing in view but their own interest; who are enemies of evangelical doctrine, and zealous partisans of our adversaries. These are the men who are now listened to, and who have the sole direction of affairs. As long as you act in this manner, no good is to be hoped for; and since it is to me that all our misfortunes are attributed, though none of my counsels are followed, I demand my dismission, and will go and seek an asylum elsewhere.'—This unexpected address confounded almost equally the friends and the enemies of Zwingle. Before the latter had recovered from their astonishment, the senate named a deputation, which was commissioned to wait upon the reformer,

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July 26.

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and entreat him not to desert his flock. All the tenderness of friendship, and all the ardour of patriotism, were employed in vain by the deputies. Seeing Zwingle inexorable, they then forcibly represented the blow that the reformation would sustain from his quitting Zuric, the principal seat of protestantism in Switzerland. This consideration overbalanced all his objections; he yielded to their entreaties, and three days after he again appeared before the grand council, thanked them for the testimonies of attachment that he had received from them, and promised that to his latest hour he would devote himself entirely to the good of their country."[1]

His Christian preparation of mind,

On many occasions however he shewed the painful forebodings which occupied his mind, as well as declared the personal preparation which he felt for all events. To one who asked him, what he thought might be portended by a comet which appeared about this time, he replied: "It forebodes death to me, and to many persons of worth and character. Truth and the church will be involved in distress: but Christ will not forsake us. I trust in God who is righteous and faithful: but I would put no confidence in men." At another time, noticing the succession of faults which had been committed, he said: "They form a series of links which will draw on the loss of my life and of the lives of many good citizens of Zuric. I am the person specially pointed at. Well! I am ready—prepared for whatever may please my Saviour." "In vain," he writes to one of his friends, "do you attempt to divert me from my career, by reminding me of the

(August.)

and fortitude.

[1] Hess, 306—308. Ru. iii. 270, 377.

tragical end of those who have preceded me; your predictions cannot inspire me with dismay: I will not deny my Saviour before men, that he may not deny me before my Heavenly Father and the angels. He also died for the truth, who was Truth itself. Shall I remind you of the apostles, the crowd of martyrs among the first Christians? They all fell under the strokes of their enemies, but what they taught will nevertheless remain eternally true. Whatever may be my fate, I know that truth will triumph, even when my bones shall long have been reduced to dust." "His courage increased with the danger: if he felt inquietude, it was not for himself, but for the fate of protestantism; and here a deep conviction of the goodness of his cause supported him. "We ought to regard ourselves," would he often say, "as *instruments* in the hand of the Most High. We may be broken, but his will shall nevertheless be accomplished. Let us shun neither the dangers nor the sufferings necessary to reestablish Christianity in its ancient purity, even though we ourselves should never enjoy its restoration, but should resemble those warriors whose eyes have closed for ever before they beheld the victory purchased by their blood. There is a God in heaven who beholds and judges the combatants: there are men on earth who will reap the fruits of our labours, when we shall have obtained their recompence in a better world."[1] A. D. 1531.

In the mean time the most unremitting exertions were used by those who, for whatever reason, wished well to the peace of Switzerland, to effect an accommodation between the parties. Negotiations.

[1] Ru. iii. 371, 377. Hess, 311, 312.

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The king of France, the cantons of Glaris, Friburg, and Soleure, and the city of Strasburg, took on them the office of mediators; and they appear to have executed it with zeal and impartiality. No less than six conventions were held at Bremgarten in the months of June, July, and August, and another at Arau, in September, for the purpose of establishing pacific arrangements; but all without success. The parties were exasperated against each other, and nothing but tasting the bitterness of civil warfare could bring them to listen to reasonable terms. The reformed demanded, as a preliminary, that the reading of the scriptures, and the preaching of the gospel according to their views of it, should be freely allowed in the territories of their opponents;[1] and the Roman-catholic cantons, on the other hand, insisted on the restoration of commercial intercourse as the previous step to any further negotiation. The mediators, who, though themselves principally Roman catholics, appear to have imputed the chief blame to the five cantons,[2] proposed terms to the contending parties, and even approved some which had been offered by the reformed; and Zwingle himself, anxious to prevent hostilities, went secretly to Bremgarten, accompanied by Steiner, who had now removed to Zuric from Zug,[3] and Collinus, the professor of Greek,[4] to persuade his friends to abandon the interdict; but he too pleaded in

[1] Accordingly in their manifesto on the breaking out of the war, the Zurichers mention as the first cause of hostilities, 'that the five cantons had prohibited the evangelical doctrine, founded on the word of God; and had punished their subjects, in their persons and goods, on account of it.' Ru. iii. 378.

[2] Ru. iii. 358-9.

[3] Vol. ii. 405, 426.

[4] Gerd. ii. 243.

vain. On this occasion he with tears took his last farewell of Bullinger, then pastor of that town.[1] A.D. 1531.

War now became inevitable: and accordingly it was declared against Zuric by the five cantons on the eighth of October, 1531. In the hope of dividing the reformed, they confined their declaration to Zuric alone, leaving Berne to be involved in it only as the ally of that canton. To enter into the particulars of the short but calamitous warfare which followed would be both painful, and foreign to our purpose. Suffice it to say, that here, as in the war of Smalkald, every thing was on the part of the reformed, and particularly of Zuric, conducted in the worst possible manner. The account cannot be read without exciting a feeling of indignation at the weakness manifested and the errors committed. Though the Zurichers had been so ready to engage in war, or even so eager for it, they allowed themselves, after the long delay that had occurred, to be taken unprepared. In the city all was disorder, division, and want of plan. Different parties contended with one another, and all that each could effect was, to prevent the adoption of any decisive measures by its opponent. "Reflection on the state of things at this time," says Myconius, "pierces me as with a sword in my bones: no order subsisted: there was no counsel, no understanding in the administration of affairs: the greatest dissonance and confusion prevailed."[2] They were compelled to push forward a flying camp of only seven hundred men, to preserve their country from immediate invasion. These were attacked before their allies, who

Declaration of war. Oct. 8.

[1] Ru. iii. 357–388. [2] De Vit. Zuing.

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yet, with the exception of Strasburg and Constance,[1] were prompt in rendering their assistance, could join them: and about two thousand of what should have been their main army, hastily got together, came up, harassed and in disorder, only to share their defeat. Zwingle, at the command of the council, and in conformity with the customs of his country, accompanied the army. As long as he entertained any hope of promoting pacification, he had been ready to undertake this service, but when that hope vanished, he would willingly have declined it, could he have done so with propriety, or without disobeying the orders of his government. On the march, he was observed to conduct himself like a man consciously going out to meet his death. His conversation with his friends comported with this idea; and his gestures indicated a mind frequently absorbed in prayer. As they descended mount Albis, and approached to Cappel, the scene of the action, and only three leagues from Zuric, they heard the roaring of the canon; when Zwingle urged the officers to speed their march lest they should arrive too late. "As for me," said he, "I will go in the name of the Lord, and join my brethren: if I cannot assist in saving them, we will die together." But the small and ill-provided reinforcement with which he marched could avail nothing against enemies four times their number, and fresh from their quarters. When the first ranks had fallen and the rest fled, Zwingle, with a halbert in his hand, which he stretched across their course, in vain attempted to restrain their flight, calling out to them "not to fear, for that they were in a good

Battle of Cappel, and death of Zwingle. Oct. 11.

[1] Ru. iii. 428-9.

cause; to commend themselves to God, and stand their ground." He appears to have been first beaten to the ground by a stone, and afterwards on rising, or attempting to rise, to have been repeatedly thrown down, and trodden upon by the crowd. Ruchat, following the account of J. J. Hottinger, represents the fatal wound in his throat from a spear to have been given him by an officer after he had refused either to invoke the Virgin, or to receive the aid of a confessor. From Myconius's account I have elsewhere represented it to have been prior to those occurrences; which seems most probable. In other respects I find no variation to notice from the account already given of his death.[1] A. D. 1531.

The affairs of the reformed might, with common prudence and management, have been easily retrieved. The armies which had been engaged could be considered but as detachments; and the loss of the Zurichers, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, scarcely exceeded five hundred men.[2] Their allies poured in to their assistance, and they had soon an army of twenty thousand men in the field—a number much superior to that of the enemy. But the want of discipline, disunion, and the treachery of those who secretly hated the reformation, subjected them a few days after to a second defeat, at Mont de Zoug, which appears to have quite Another battle. Oct. 24.

[1] Vol. i. 118. Ru. iii. 400, 401, 406, 412, 486—488. Hess. 317—323.

[2] Among these, however, were twenty members of one or both councils, and fifteen ecclesiastics! which shew the extent to which the custom of the ministers accompanying the Swiss troops to battle was carried. Among these ecclesiastics, besides Zwingle, were Geroldseck, the administrator of Einsidlin, Schmidt, the commendator of Kusnacht, and Joner, the abbot of Cappel: all of them names well known to us. Ru. iii. 426.

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sunk their spirit, and struck them with panic. They, who had lately been so haughty and irritable, thought now of nothing but making peace on almost any terms. But still the same improvidence and imbecility marked their conduct. They agreed to withdraw their troops into their own territories, but forgot to stipulate for a cessation of arms during the negotiations: so that, while treating for peace, the enemy still carried on hostilities, and pillaged several places. Zuric likewise hesitated not to conclude a separate peace, leaving its allies, the Bernese and several smaller powers, to shift for themselves. The treaty was made under the mediation of the king of France, the duke of Savoy, the cantons of Glaris, Friburg, and Appenzel, and some other powers. The very first article shewed what had particularly galled the opponents of the reformed. It stipulated that the Roman-catholic cantons should be no more molested on the subject of religion, and of allowing the reformed doctrine to be preached or professed within their territories. In the common bailliages those who had embraced the reformed faith were not to be disturbed: and it was even agreed that, in places where both forms of religion were professed, the income of the livings should be divided between the priests and the reformed pastors, in proportion to their respective congregations: an arrangement more favourable than could have been expected.—Berne soon after concluded a treaty for itself on nearly similar terms: and peace was once more restored in Switzerland. [c]

Treaty of peace. Nov. 16.

Painful consequences however, as was to be expected, followed in several places. At Rapersweil, which had recently embraced the reformation, perhaps rather from secular

Consequences of the war and the treaty.

A. D. 1531.

motives than from real attachment to its principles, renounced it again; popery was permanently reestablished there, and the reformed minister, Justus Kilchmeyer, was exposed to imminent peril.[1] At Bremgarten and Mellingen the reformation was likewise suppressed and finally extinguished, notwithstanding the exertions of Zuric and Berne in their favour; the two Bullingers, Schuler, and the avoyer Mutschli retiring to Zuric. The younger Bullinger and Schuler, the pastors of Bremgarten, were expressly excepted from the benefits of the peace.[2] Some other places surrendered their profession for fear of persecution, or for the hope of advantage: so that Zuric became the resort of numerous ministers driven from their cures. It is said, that after the battle of Cappel many in Germany learned to think less favourably of Zwingle's doctrine of the sacrament, as compared with Luther's, than they had previously done.[3] So much do men judge of truth and right by success! Even at Zuric such a burst of zeal took place on the part of those who were hostile to the reformation, that Leo Jude was forced for a time to conceal himself: and in the canton of Berne like efforts were made by the malcontent party: but they were soon put down by the firmness and prudence of the council.[4] Some minor places did themselves great honour by nobly standing firm in trying circumstances,

[1] Ru. iii. 353—356, 468—472.

[2] Ruchat 473—478. iv. 194—199, 247.

[3] Ruchat (iii. 499,) would involve Bucer in this reflection: but I see nothing in the language which he quotes materially different from what that reformer had before avowed. He wished to persuade the parties in that controversy, that their difference was more in words than in meaning.

[4] Ru. iii. 423-4, 503-4, 509, &c.

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and risking all consequences. This was the case, in particular, with Frauenfeld, the capital of Thurgau, with Zurzach, in the county of Baden, and with some towns in the Rheinthal.[1]

Death of Œcolampadius.

The death of the meek and holy, the learned and devoted Œcolampadius followed, as we have elsewhere seen, a few weeks after that of Zwingle:[2] and the loss of these two great men at such a crisis must be considered as perhaps the heaviest which the church of Switzerland now sustained. God however, in his gracious providence, had raised up others qualified to succeed them, and to carry on his work. The offices of antistes, or chief pastor, and of professor of divinity, which had been united in Zwingle, were now divided, and the celebrated Henry Bullinger succeeded him in the former, while Theodore Bouchman, or Bibliander, was appointed to the latter. Bullinger, who was now only in the twenty-eighth year of his age, retained his post forty-four years, and rendered great and extensive service to the church of Christ. Bibliander was somewhat older; but he laboured at Zuric with much reputation and success for thirty-two years. Bullinger speaks in the highest terms of his associate: and Pellican bears the following testimony concerning the state of Zuric some time after their appointment. "The mercy and grace of God have ordered things in such a manner, that, in the place of one Zwingle, and of the fidelity with which he laboured, the church has received a double blessing, and shews the effects of it in its increased edification."—Œcolampadius was succeeded at Basle by Oswald Myconius.[3]

Zwingle succeeded by Bullinger and Bibliander:

Œcolampadius by Myconius.

[1] Ru. 383—418, 423—468, 478—482, 499—503.
[2] Vol. i. 121.
[3] Ru. ii. 505—508, 497.

A.D. 1531.

The church less injured than might have been expected.

Indeed here, as in the case of Saxony, no such serious evils as might have been expected appear to have followed the defeat of the reformed.[1] God rebuked the self-confidence and humbled the pride of his people, and by necessary chastisement taught them greater forbearance towards others, and more simple dependence upon himself; but, though he rebuked and chastened them, he "gave them not over unto death," neither "delivered them to the will of their enemies:" on the contrary he visited them, and restored blessings unto them. Myconius observes concerning the effects of this visitation, "We have learned to walk much more cautiously; we prize the gospel of Christ more highly; we look more simply to God; and the friends and the enemies of the gospel are more clearly discriminated."[2] We have seen that both Œcolampadius and Musculus were sensible of the need there had been for such lessons as the reformed Swiss were now taught, and of those lessons being impressed upon them by severe means:[3] and Ruchat justly remarks, "It is painful that it should have been necessary for the reformed to be subjected to such discipline, to teach them

[1] "The victories of the five cantons did not do near so much mischief, as might have been anticipated, to the reformed cantons and their dependencies, nor even to the subjects of the common bailliages, since both the one and the other retained their civil and religious liberties, and the affairs of the reformed were in no worse state after the war than before." Ru. iii. 483-4. "Many ministers were forbidden to officiate, to the stumbling of the weak: but the efforts of the Romanists were in various ways defeated. God raised up bold and zealous men, who, with his aid, supported the tottering cause of the reformation: and there were some, who, after recovering from their first consternation, returned to the reformed church." Ib. 523-4.

[2] De Vit. Zuing. [3] Vol. i. 119, 120.

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the rules of Christian tolerance and patience. A little more adherence to the practice of these excellent virtues would have spared them these mortifications and would have saved the reformation the calamities which the opposite conduct drew upon it." [1]

The similar fate of the three great branches of the reformation.

Indeed it is a highly observable fact, and one which we are sure was not permitted without "a need be" for it, that each of the three great branches of the reformation, at an early period, suffered a check, which to the apprehension of contemporaries must have threatened its destruction. Such was the case
1531. in Switzerland by the victories obtained by the Roman catholics over the reformed: in Germany, by a similar cause, followed by the sup-
1547. pression of the league of Smalkald, and the introduction of the Interim: and in England
1553. by the death of the good king Edward, and the succession of the bigoted and bloody Mary. Yet in each case the fears of its friends and the hopes of its enemies were alike disappointed. To the latter, it was "as when a hungry man dreameth, and behold he eateth; but he awaketh, and his soul is empty." [2] In each case the church was taught that "her help cometh from the Lord," and that he "will not forsake his people," but in the time of exigency will appear for their deliverance: that "the wrath of man shall praise him, and the remainder of wrath" —all that would go beyond his purposes—"will he restrain." In each case, what might have been thought destruction proved to be only correction: it was pruning and not excision;

[1] Ruchat, iii. 464-5.

[2] Such is the strict application of the text, Isaiah xxix. 7, 8, to those who vainly imagined they had devoured the church, and "swallowed it up quick."

and promoted, not prevented, the production of good fruit, to the glory of God and the benefit of mankind. And such, we are assured, shall always be the event, both to the individual Christian and to the church at large. To God therefore let his suffering people at all times turn, and to him "commit their cause," "in well doing"—even to Him "which doeth great things and unsearchable, marvellous things without number:" and, though his interposition be delayed, "let them wait for it, because it will surely come, it will not tarry" beyond the prescribed and most appropriate period. A. D. 1531.

If however we may judge from the case both of Germany and of Switzerland, little encouragement is afforded to maintaining the cause of religion by an appeal to arms. Never was a military enterprise more misconducted, or with worse success, than the wars both of Cappel and of Smalkald. Little is in general to be expected from a religious body undertaking to fight for their religion. Conscientious men in such cases form but an unequal match for men of the world, who will proceed with less scruple, and very probably acquit themselves with more address, and therefore with a better prospect of success: and especially this is not the means, unless in some cases of absolute and unavoidable necessity, (such as the Vaudois might at times be exposed to, to preserve themselves from absolute extirpation,) on which the blessing of heaven is to be expected. "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal;" and "the children of this world are, *in their generation*, wiser than the children of light." But, even if a successful issue, in an external and political point of view, be in such a case attained, it will very probably be attended by more than On maintaining religion by arms.

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Folly of war.

counterbalancing disadvantages to the real, spiritual prosperity of the church. Indeed may we not well ask, When will mankind at large learn how little—how very little conducive to the real good even of the victorious party, and speaking now only in a temporal sense—is gained by war? how much less than might in almost all cases be attained by pacific measures? How commonly, after a profusion of blood and treasure has been expended, does the contest end in a treaty of which the *status quo ante bellum*,[1] if not something worse for both parties, is the basis? An exposure from actual history of the USELESSNESS of war, in almost all cases not strictly and unavoidably defensive, might be one of the best means of convincing men of the *folly* of that, which must always be, on one side or on both, an enormous *wickedness*.[2]

[1] "Things in the same state as before the war."

[2] I subjoin the two following confirmations of the remark in the text. "The son of Chosroès abandoned without regret the conquests of his father; and a war which had wounded the vitals of the two monarchies (the Roman and the Persian,) produced *no change* in their external and relative situation." Gibbon, close of chap. xlvi.—"Wars of course, occurred: but, after the contending parties had sufficiently worried each other, a peace, made through the mediation of powerful and jealous neighbours, usually placed them, at the end of each struggle, pretty much *in the same relative state* as they were at the beginning." Faber, Sacred Calendar, iii. p. 323—referring to the history of Europe between the establishment of the balance of power and the French revolution.

I may seem perhaps in these closing observations to stand in some degree opposed to an authority to which I much defer, that of Dr. M'Crie: Reformation in Spain, p. 343-4: but when our respective limitations are considered, our difference will be found to be little more than apparent.

CHAPTER XX.

EPISTLES OF ZWINGLE AND ŒCOLAMPADIUS—WORKS OF ZWINGLE.

A. D. 1531.

Subject of this chapter.

BEFORE taking a final leave of the history of Zwingle and Œcolampadius, two illustrious friends, who, as they had been united in their lives, in their death were not divided, I shall proceed in the present chapter to lay before the reader pretty copious specimens of their epistolary correspondence: and also a notice of some select works of the former, particularly his treatise on True and False Religion. The letters of each shall be presented separately, and the order of time (so far as it can be ascertained,[1]) observed, unless where circumstances may require or recommend a different arrangement.

I. Letters of Zwingle.

I. We begin with the letters of Zwingle.

1. To Myconius.

1. The following was addressed by him, in 1520, to his friend Oswald Myconius, then struggling with difficulties in his native

[1] The epistles of the two reformers in the printed folio volume of 1536, so often cited, are indeed distributed into four books, with some reference to their subjects, but no regard whatever is paid to the order of time in arranging the letters in each book, even where they are dated: and very many of them are altogether without date. Zwingle's epistles are also to be found at the end of the first volume of his works, Zuric, 1581; but still without arrangement.

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town of Lucerne, and in some danger of growing "weary, and fainting in his mind."[1] The opening sentences will be found strikingly applicable to our own times, which appear to be characterized by *great good and great evil conflicting together.*

The times.

"Your mind is harassed, my dear Myconius, with thinking what is to be the issue of these times, which are full of agitation and confusion, so that it is difficult to say what is their true character. Things are so mingled, that nothing can present itself from one quarter, which does not find its opposite, to counterbalance it, in another. Thus our hopes and fears are strangely raised together. We have been led to promise ourselves that times were returning when learning should be generally encouraged and cultivated: but the expectation is quashed by the obstinate ignorance or impudence of those, who are determined to endure all extremities rather than suffer their own deformity to be exposed. No feeble anticipations have been excited of the knowledge of Christ and the gospel being gloriously revived again, when so many good and learned and able men are ready to use every exertion to bring the harvest to perfection; but the sight of the tares, which an enemy hath sown, and which have struck their roots so deep that we cannot with safety attempt to eradicate them from among the wheat, damps the expectations we had formed. We must however listen to Christ's words: *Let both grow together until the harvest; and in the time of harvest* they shall be separated. Thus, my friend, must the gold be refined by the fire, the silver purified from the

[1] See vol. ii. p. 380.

dross. So Christ warned his apostles: *In the world ye shall have tribulation: Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake: The time cometh when he that killeth you shall think that he doeth God service.* The children of Israel, though they inhabited the promised land, never found the Philistines wanting to harass them, or to tempt them to idolatry, and draw them into the transgression of God's commandments; to convert them into heathens instead of the people of God: and we shall never find those wanting, who will persecute Christ in us, though they ostentatiously boast themselves of his name. But he only is a Christian, who bears the mark of Christ: *By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye do whatsoever I command you.* They therefore that obey the commandments of men, rather than those of God, lack the mark of Christ. These are the enemies of God, and a crown awaits those who hold out against them. The life of man upon earth is a warfare: he therefore who would be partaker of future glory must fight manfully, putting on the armour to which Paul has directed us.—But, when you ask, in a tone of objection, 'What avails it to teach those committed to us, when our labour is but lost or derided, and few or none obey the gospel?' I answer, You must labour the more unremittingly to exhibit this goodly pearl, neglected or despised as it may be, in its native beauty, that there may be found those who shall be so captivated with it, as to sell all that they may purchase it. Does not Christ divide the seed into four parts, of which only one fell into good ground? Did he not say that he was come *to send fire upon earth?* and even anticipate its being kindled?

A. D. 1531.

Unremitting labour called for.

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And what can this be but those sufferings in the midst of which the Christian is to endure to the end, and in which we seem even *to hate* our own parents when they would draw us to unfaithfulness? and in which we bear with a brother even delivering us to death?—Are we to descend into the battle for the glory of this world, or for that honour which cometh from Christ? If we seek the former, it shall but resemble stubble, which as soon as the fire of the appointed trial touches it shall vanish in smoke, and its memory perish: but, if the latter, then we shall resemble the wise man who built upon the rock, (*and that rock is Christ,*) and our work shall never perish. Then neither death, nor life, nor sword, nor any other of those things which the apostle enumerates, shall separate us from the love of Christ. He thus exhorts his soldiers to emulate his triumphs: *Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.* What is the meaning of this? HE has *overcome the world:* have WE then overcome it too? Yes, WE have overcome it IN HIM: for *we are not sufficient of ourselves, to reckon upon any thing as from ourselves.* Whence he justly says, *Be of good cheer:* as if he should say, 'If you place all your dependence on me, as I have overcome ye shall overcome also.'—These things are said to excite those who are already engaged, and are labouring to enlist soldiers for Jesus Christ, who may manfully carry on his warfare; to animate such, that the more fiercely persecution presses them the less may they be disposed to turn their backs.—To tell you the truth without reserve, I am of opinion that, as the church was first raised in blood, so it will be restored in no other way. Teach Christ therefore constantly to those

Persecution to be expected and borne.

under your instruction; and the more you see his church overspread with rubbish the more earnestly do you labour to train those who may cleanse it, as Hercules did the Augean stable—men who will neither loiter nor take disgust at their work, looking beyond this world for their reward; and who, if they draw upon themselves the displeasure of men, will not be stumbled at the fact, but will say to themselves, *If I yet pleased men, I should not be the servant of Christ*; and, to sum up all in one sentence, *Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for their's is the kingdom of heaven.*—The world can never be at concord with Christ; and his reward is linked *with persecutions.* A. D. 1531.

"You see, brother, in what way you may hope that you are one of Christ's sheep; namely, if, while you do every thing, and are willing to suffer every thing, for the glory of Christ, the cruel wolves tear you with their claws, whet their teeth at you, and strive to destroy you.

"I have little fear for the life of Luther, and none at all for his soul; even though he should be struck with the bolts of the Roman Jupiter. Not that I make light of excommunication; but that I think sentences unjustly pronounced may reach the body indeed, but not the soul. I am not called however to decide on the justice or injustice of the proceedings relative to Luther; though you know what my opinion is. I shall go in the course of a few days to the commissary of the sovereign pontiff, and if he introduces the subject, as he has done before, I shall urge him to advise the pope to issue no excommunication. That will be for *his* interest: for I foresee that if it is issued the Germans will treat both it and its author Bull of excommunication against Luther.

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with contempt.—But be of good courage: there will not be wanting in these times men who will purely teach Christ, and be willing to lay down their lives for his sake, however their names may be *cast out as evil* among men. This has been the case from the times of old.—For my own part, I devote myself; and expect all kinds of evil both from laity and churchmen. This only I implore of Christ, that he will enable me to endure with a determined mind, and either break or preserve me, his *earthen vessel*, as seemeth him good. If I am excommunicated, I shall call to mind Hilary and Lucius, the former of whom was banished from Gaul into Africa, and the latter driven from the see of Rome, but restored again with honour. Not that I compare myself to such persons; but because I would compose my mind by remembering that men, much our superiors, have suffered far more unworthy treatment. ....You must excuse my confused letter: for my house is exposed to so much noise and disturbance as distracts me. If I cannot find greater convenience for the prosecution of my studies, I shall quit this place. But say nothing of that matter. Farewell in Christ. At Zuric, 24 July, 1520."[1]

2. To Zuiccius.

2. In a letter to Zuiccius of Constance, 20 December, 1522, he thus warmly expresses his delight in the work of the Christian ministry.

The ministry.

"I think no greater happiness can fall to the lot of man, than so to cast the gospel net as to enclose a great multitude of fishes, and to draw them out of the sea of this world into that vessel in which Christ conveys his own to heaven."[2]

[1] Œc. et Zuing. Epist. fo. 173—175. [2] Ibid. 175.

A. D. 1531.

3. To Haller.

3. The first of the above letters exhibits the writer as a Christian hero: that which follows will shew us that he had the same infirmities to contend with as his weaker brethren, and how he "found grace to help in time of need." It is addressed to Haller at Berne, 28 January, 1521.[1]

"I would at least shew my good will to render you any service in my power; though I know not that I can do any thing more. But we may thus obey the apostolical precept, *Bear ye one another's burdens*.... God being our helper, let us prosecute the work of the gospel, which we commenced five years ago, till he shall give us our dismissal. This I will gladly perform, if only he will *work in me both to will and to do*. For, as I do not conceal that through the infirmity of nature weariness sometimes creeps upon me, while I am reproached and reviled without deserving it, nay while I seem to myself to deserve well of all men; so I cannot deny that contrition succeeds to this weariness, while Christ applies to my conscience the goads of his word, by which he rouses the languid and sluggish mind, sometimes by means of alarms and sometimes by consolations. Thus he says, *He that shall be ashamed of me before men, of him will I be ashamed before my Father; and him that denieth me I will deny. He that loveth his life in this world shall lose it. Out of thine own mouth will I judge thee, thou slothful and wicked servant. If the salt have lost its savour, it is henceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and trodden under foot. The Lord when he cometh shall cut in sunder the unfaithful*

His conflicts.

[1] It is the letter from which an extract was given, vol. ii. p. 421.

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servant, and appoint him his portion with the unbelievers. With such passages he alarms us. By others he animates us with even eternal promises. Thus: *He that shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father. Blessed are they that are persecuted for righteousness' sake:* and, that we may not be discouraged by reproach, *Blessed are ye when men shall say all manner of evil of you, falsely, for my sake.* If our name be, on such grounds, utterly blotted out among men, it shall be enrolled in the records of heaven. And, lest the inability to speak in our own defence should render us cowardly, he assures us that his Spirit shall be our advocate. *He that endureth unto the end, the same shall be saved. Fear not them that kill the body,* for they cannot reach the soul.—Revolving these and the like sentences in my mind, I am sometimes raised even to a readiness to meet death for Christ's sake. On the other hand, when I consider the unhappiness of the times wherein we live, in which rashness and ingratitude, not to say injustice, pervade all places, and ruin every thing, I am reduced to such a state as not to know what to think or do. But, when I come to myself again, I cannot but acknowledge that all these things are ordered by the divine appointment, that they who would not otherwise come to God by faith may be compelled to do it, when every thing else fails them.—Thus have I laid my heart open to you more fully than my time would well permit, that you might be made acquainted with my conflicts, and the fluctuations of my mind, in the hope that this knowledge may be helpful to you. I know indeed that you have excellent qualifications,

not only for comforting your own mind, but for animating others: but I thus give you an opening for doing still more in that way, and for communicating something to me in return: that so, while you are reproached at Berne as my disciple, you may prove yourself not my scholar but my master."[1] A. D. 1531.

4. He writes to the same purport to Œcolampadius, at Basle, 14 January, 1523, a fortnight before the first disputation of Zuric.[2] 4. To Œcolampadius.

"My pious and learned friend, I am tossed about in various ways: yet I remain unmoved, not relying on my own strength, but on the rock, Christ, through whom *I can do all things;* for it is he that strengthens and animates me. For, when I am cast down by sad tidings of the gospel being oppressed in one quarter, I am raised again by good news from another. One threatens me with a thousand deaths: another cheers me by his Christian letters—as you have now begun to do: but you must repeat the service frequently in future, if you continue to love me. Not that I think myself worthy of the praises which you lavish upon me; but because I see in you that temper which we desire to possess. For, when we find good men, men thinking rightly of Christ, we overflow with joy, and are ready to overwhelm them with commendations, such as must even appear foolish to them, did they not look rather to the intentions of the writer than to their own deserts. In this way only can I excuse your language to me."[3] His conflicts.

5. At the instigation of Anemund Coctus, a French refugee at Basle,[4] Zwingle was induced 5. To P. Sebiville.

[1] Epist. fo. 189, 190. [2] Vol. ii. p. 431. &c.
[3] Epist. fo. 189-9.
[4] Ruchat, i. 183. Gerdes, ii. 253. iv, 12, 55. Coctus was of

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to address a very valuable letter to Peter Sebiville, "preacher at Grenoble," 13 December, 1523. He apologises for writing to one who was a stranger to him: but he was encouraged by the consideration of their common Christianity, which was a bond of union to them; and by the desire that he trusted they in common felt, to revive the pure doctrine of Christ, which had long been obscured, corrupted, and almost lost. He rejoiced to learn Sebiville's care to preach the truth, pure and undefiled, from which the only consolation of man could be derived; and he wished to strengthen his hands in so doing. "But," says he, in the spirit of a faithful Christian brother, "do not take upon you to build without first sitting down and counting the cost, lest you be induced to desist from your undertaking, become a reproach in the mouth of the profane, and resemble the salt which has lost its savour. We must be provided against our enemies with arms and stores. In the first place, against Antichrist; who, as he has exalted himself *above all that is called God or is worshipped*, loves to be styled God, and requires to have his word honoured in preference to that of God, from which it differs *toto cœlo*. If therefore you will be a faithful minister of Christ you must utterly abhor Antichrist: unless you can serve two masters, and establish concord between Christ and Belial. And if you abhor Antichrist you must stand prepared to sacrifice your character, to be called a heretic, to be exposed to tortures and the stake; and, unless you presently go over to his party, actually to suffer these evils...He is already highly exas-

On counting our cost.

equestrian rank. Œcolampadius calls him "illustrious by birth, but more illustrious for his virtues." Epist. fo. 194 (a, b).

perated: for he has lost so much by the gospel, during the short time it has been preached, that desperation goads him on to the most extreme measures. Examine yourself therefore, and consider what you are able to bear. You will soon find yourself unequal to cope with such an enemy. Yet besides him you must encounter many others: established but corrupt practices; fathers (of the church) who too commonly shew themselves stepfathers, for they often pervert the word of God to favour their own prejudices; and princes who are the more furious in proportion as they are more ignorant of true religion....All this you must consider before you begin; lest after making a beginning you draw back, and thus your last state be worse than the first. A. D. 1531.

"And now, if I were a good orator, and you a man under the influence of mere natural principles, I should by such representations have driven you to despair, and you would be ready to hide your head in any retreat rather than to preach the gospel. But the Spirit of Christ, by which you are actuated, suffers not such a consequence to follow: but by prospects like these rather excites the mind to a noble daring, than damps its ardour. Go forward then, brave man, and, clad in the Christian armour, come boldly out in the midst of France, and, lifting up your voice like a trumpet, proclaim the gospel in spite of the pope and all his puppets.[1] Christ hath sounded the blast against all pharisees, scribes, and hypocrites: who will not prepare himself for the battle? *The lion hath roared*, saith the prophet, *who will not fear?* When Christ thunders by his Encouragement to boldness and decision.

[1] "Invitis omnibus pupis et papis."

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ministers, which of his enemies will not be afraid? Yes, verily, there is a trembling throughout their whole camp. They are thrown into such confusion, that they can to this moment resolve on no common plan. If they begin to slaughter the flock of Christ by the hands of the princes, they know not but this may open the way for the next attack to be made upon themselves.[1] And, if they attempt to oppose us by the scriptures, their hands hang down and they lose all energy, from consciousness of the violence they do to the word of God. Why then do we not rush upon the cowards, depending upon that one sufficient weapon, the word of God? for he will consume Antichrist *with the spirit of his mouth.* Christ is for us, who can be against us? Though we are but *earthen vessels,* no one can break us as long as God is present with us. But that he will be with us *alway even unto the end of the world,* we are assured by the firm promise of his word. He has bid us be without carefulness even when brought before rulers and kings for his sake, for that *he will give us a mouth and wisdom which all our adversaries shall not be able to gainsay or resist.* Why then do we hesitate? The victory is in our hands: shall we be backward to grasp it? Heaven and earth shall pass away sooner than the word of God shall fail. He has promised us victory: we cannot therefore but gain it. I *should* say, we cannot but gain it if we do not remit our exertions. How the feeble flesh dissuades us, I well know: but we must reflect again and again, that it is by means of its pleas that the enemy of our souls seduces us: and, while it declines labours and

[1] From the same quarter, the temporal princes.

sufferings, we must the more resolutely turn from it, and close our ears against its solicitations. For what greater evil could possibly befall us than to be drawn over to the party of the flesh, and thus to become altogether carnal and corrupt? But we shall be found of its party, if for its sake we prove unfaithful to the spirit: and this we are if we fail with all our might to rely on God and his word—for by that alone the spirit is supported. Revolving therefore, my honoured friend, these considerations, and others still more divine and more powerful, which will occur to you, you will be animated to encounter not only Antichrist and the princes, but the whole world: for you aspire at heavenly things, which can be attained only by those who despise the things of earth. It is necessary therefore, above all things, that you learn to deny yourself: and for this your own powers are utterly insufficient. You must have recourse to the mercy of God alone, and implore of him to direct your ways, to enlighten your mind, to excite your heart, that, by his grace, there may be nothing which you may not both dare to do and know how to do. A. D. 1531.

"It will greatly conduce to your object in endeavouring to preach the gospel of Christ, that you should reject all previously-conceived opinions and doctrines, and come to the word of God alone, in the character of a learner and not of a teacher. They who apply to it only to seek support for their own opinions will inevitably do it violence, and corrupt it: but they who come to it that by its information they may become acquainted with the divine mind and will—to learn and not to teach it, their profiting will be great You see, my brother, what progress the doctrine of Christ Study of the scriptures.

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has made in a short time in Germany: it will make as much in France, if you ask it of God. He delights to be asked; for he loveth the souls of men and is a jealous God. To close my long letter: the point I aim at is, that you should boldly publish the gospel among your countrymen. I pray Almighty God to grant it! for how little, or rather nothing, my feeble and transient epistle can effect, I am deeply sensible: but our friend Anemund has extorted it from me. Consider me as your friend; or, if that is too much, as your scholar: and be assured that Zwingle will be your's as long as he hears that you are Christ's. Farewell: *be strong in the Lord and in the power of his might.* May he preserve you in safety!"[1]

Every one must feel the force of this letter. It is not only full of heroism, but of Christian principle, wisdom, and experience. It is distinguished also by the art of the true orator. How fine is the turn at the opening of the second paragraph, when, having after our Lord's example faithfully warned his cerrespondent to count his cost, he so nobly animates him for the conflict, and against all discouragement; and shews him what is the true and only source of strength.

6. To Cellarius.

6. To Michael Cellarius, "a preacher of Christ at Augsburg:" 17 September, 1526.—

On afflictions.

"Grace and peace from the Lord! I suffer with you under your long-continued illness: for, being one body, we must have a common feeling of the evils which befall us. Fain could I wish that my hand could remove your pain! But, as that is impossible, I implore Him, who is the true Healer, to cure you, and restore you

[1] Epist. fo. 190, 191.

to your ministry. I must however make this reserve, that his will and not our's should be done. When we suffer innocently, it is for our good; and God makes trial of us, whether we love him with all our heart and with all our soul. But indeed who is innocent, when the very *heavens are not clean in his sight?*—By these means God prepares us for the future life: for they who love the present life lose the life to come. Wisely, therefore, and graciously he mixes up so much bitterness with the present state that we may be weaned from it: for, if all things here went according to our wishes, who would not hold to the world as his portion, however fleeting and transient it might be? Who, on the contrary, ought not willingly to renounce it, when it is never free from affliction? Look upon this your short-lived suffering therefore, my dear friend, in no other light than as a discipline, not of a trifling nature, but real and efficacious, by which you are to be taught the best of all arts, that of ceasing to love the world, and knowing how to meet death.... You have inculcated upon others deadness to the world, and patience under adversity: you are now called to practise what you have taught. It is easy for a Stoic, not to say for a Christian, to talk highly of patience, when he has nothing to bear; but the true philosophy is to suffer patiently.... May the Lord give you peace and health of mind! Amen."[1] A. D. 1531.

7. To Somius of Ulm he thus writes against a minister's relinquishing his station for want of present success, 12 February, 1527.—"From your senate's being backward and dilatory you 7. To Somius. On quitting our post.

[1] Epist. fo. 192.

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are not to infer, that it is not the will of God that your doctrine should be received by the people where you are, and on that ground to think of a removal; but to wait for the divine calling and influence. I intreat you, and if you will suffer it I command you, not to think of quitting your post. At the same time, be instant and urgent, *in season, out of season.*"[1]

8. To Somius. Diet of Augsburg.

The two following letters relate to the diet of Augsburg.

8. To Somius, 26 March, 1530.—"Observing the apprehensions entertained by some, I am anxious for you; not that I fear lest God should desert you, but lest the unskilfulness and inexperience of some of your friends should betray you into mischief. For, as the Suabians are naturally sanguine, so when any thing unexpected occurs they are soon cast down. I, for my part am ready to consult with you, asked or unasked.—You that minister the word take care that you depart not a hair's breadth from the declaration of the truth; though I would have all done with prudence. But avow yourselves ready to give an account of your faith and doctrine before the emperor, provided only you may do it freely, and with proper security against violence.... I offer my services to attend the Landgrave at the diet; and Œcolampadius and others are willing to do the same.... I will apply to our council to omit nothing by which they may assist you. Only be firm and free from fear. The adversary will be able to effect nothing against you: for *greater is he that is with us than they who are against us.* It has passed into a proverb, that they who threaten most do least.—Communi-

[1] Ib. fo. 188.

cate what I have written to Sympertus (Schenkius[1]) of Memmingen."[2]

A. D. 1531.

9. To Somius and Sympertus (Schenkius) at Augsburg, 18 August, 1530.[3]—"Grace and peace from the Lord! Do not be surprised, my dear brethren, if some alarm and some wavering should be found in your company. Some are sincere in the faith, but unskilled in affairs; while some are strangers to the truth, and even hostile to it. Hence it is no new thing if plans are not consistently formed and steadily pursued; if some withdraw themselves; and some enter into parley with the enemy. Consider the human body: it consists as well of flesh and blood as of bones and sinews. The former even exceed in quantity and weight: but they would avail nothing without the support of the latter: and both together would be nothing without the animating spirit. The spirit therefore holds the first place, the bones and sinews the next, and the flesh and blood the last. So it is in the visible church. Men unstable in the faith, inexperienced, irreligious, in the eyes of the weak occupy the place of the flesh, [which makes the greatest appearance,] though they desire nothing but their own ease and indulgence. The truly pious, whether teachers or leading men among the people, support the whole, as the bones and sinews do the fleshy mass of the body. But they themselves will be strong and active, only when they are animated by the Spirit of God.—But shall *he* fear for the church, who sees that it is provided for in this manner? Never yet was the church in such a state that none in it were weak, none unskilful, none

9. To Somius and Schenkius. Diet of Augsburg.

[1] Gerd. ii. 333. [2] Epist. fo. 198.
[3] See vol. i. p. 53—55.

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unsound: and, if it never was free from these evils, and yet always stood its ground, and increased, and shall continue to stand; it is not for us to think that the heavenly Spirit will fail to animate and support his own body. But you, with the elders and leaders of the people who trust in God, are the bones and nerves by which he is to act.—I am firmly of opinion that the adherents of the pope cannot venture upon war." For this he assigns some political reasons, and then proceeds: "The spirit that animates the people of God is more powerful and determined than his enemies suppose. Their artifices must be thus met: first, we must confess the truth with all boldness, and at the same time promise the emperor due obedience, provided he will leave our faith untouched—except it be by conviction from the word of God, or by means of an open and free conference conducted on equal terms. If he refuses this you must answer, that you regret his being so far misled by false teachers as to imagine that he possesses power over your souls and your faith—a power never claimed by any pious emperor, or, if claimed, never conceded to him: that you are prepared therefore to go to all extremities rather than retreat from your position, unless God should remove you from it by his word. Depend upon it the papists will give way before such conduct.... It is firmness alone that must and will extricate us.... If we negligently suffer pure religion to be oppressed, we shall be as guilty as the oppressors themselves."[1]

The preceding letters tend much to illustrate the character of the great Swiss reformer;

[1] Ib. fo. 187.

and certainly exhibit him, on the whole, as a humble, holy, experienced Christian, as well as a man of a bold, heroic, and devoted spirit. Those which follow relate chiefly to his views of Christian doctrine and duty in several important particulars. A.D. 1531.

10. A letter to Matthew Alber, pastor of Reutlingen, dated 16 November, 1524, appears to be the earliest effort of his pen (at least the earliest that has been preserved,) on the subject of the eucharist, and it has been noticed as such by Dr. Milner.[1] I shall add only a few sentences to those which he has cited.—The writer discusses at length the sixth chapter of S. John: not that he supposes the sacrament to be the subject there treated of, but because he conceives that that discourse of our Lord's suggests the true principle of interpretation to be applied to the case of the sacrament. There the divine teacher *seems* to insist on "eating his flesh and drinking his blood"—it might have been thought, even literally; whereas his *real* subject was—believing in him. Zwingle then approaches the sacramental words, "This is my body," but evidently with a degree of religious awe, seriously deprecating all misinterpretation of them. "Here," he says, "all the strength of our faith is to be applied, and the throne of the heavenly grace resorted to; that whatever abstruse meaning the words convey it may be discovered." If they have not hitherto been rightly understood, he says, "there is nothing in which we have more grievously erred: and I know not whether the worship of the golden calf at Dan was a greater abomination than the adoration of that con-

10. To M. Alber, on the Eucharist.

John vi.

[1] Vol. v. 397-8. (991-2.)

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secrated bread—if indeed it is no more than bread. Now," he proceeds, "though the opinion which I am going to mention much commends itself to my approbation, yet I decide nothing; I only propose my thoughts for consideration, that, if such be the will of God, others may be led to think the same—but only by the Spirit, who must teach us all things: for our words are mere babblings, if they be contrary to his mind and will. I pray God therefore, the author of all good, to direct our steps; and, if at any time we are going, like Balaam, to oppose the truth, may he send forth his angel against us, and by any severity prevent our blaspheming the name of the Lord."[1]—How lamentable, that men who commenced their inquiries in this spirit should ever have been goaded to depart from it, and ever branded by their brethren, on account of differences on this very question, with the appellation of "apostles of Satan," and other opprobrious names!

11. Necessity of faith to obedience.

11. In a long epistle to some anonymous "brethren," (dated 16 December, 1524,) in which he earnestly contends for the practice of infant baptism, he makes the following observations on the necessity of faith to obedience.

"Faith must be constantly preached, that it may serve as the foundation on which the law may build the edifice of holy practice. Is this unusual language? Yet it is true, and let none be offended at it. Where faith does not exist, in vain will you inculcate the law: for only the sheep hear the shepherd's voice. Would you therefore have any one to receive (observe) the law? Teach him faith, and pray to God to

[1] Epist. fo. 116—121, or Zuing. Opp. ii. fo. 153—158.

draw him. Without this you will labour in vain."[1] A. D. 1531.

The faith required for Baptism.

In a letter to some "beloved brethren," who are not named, under the date of 9 December 1529, he makes the following observations on baptism, and the faith required in order to baptism.

Baptism, he contends, introduces only into the external and visible church; and the faith requisite for admission to it in infants is the faith of the church; in adults a confession of the Christian religion, and a professed desire to be admitted to its benefits.[2] This (he says,) was evidently all that the apostles required, and to require more is to intrude into God's office of searching the heart; and in that case we must ever be uncertain whether we are rightly admitting a candidate to baptism, or not.—Throughout the scriptures, he observes, innumerably more persons have been received into the visible church (as by circumcision,) through their parents' faith than through their own. On the nature of the faith required he refers to Augustine's Epistle to Boniface; on some other points to his own "Elenchus:" observing, however, that he had made use of certain expressions, after the example of the apostles and ancient fathers, the sense of which was different from what it might at first appear to be.[3]

[1] Epist. fo. 31.

[2] The same is the opinion of Œcolampadius. In answer to the question, "What faith is necessary to baptism?" he says: "Though a true and lively faith is necessary, in adults, to salvation, yet a willingness to be numbered among Christians, and to engage to live as such, is a sufficient qualification for baptism." Epist. fo. 81. Joanni Grelo in Kylchberg, 15 March, 1527.

[3] Epist. fo. 79.

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12. To Urban Regius. On original sin.

12. On the 15th of August, 1526, Zwingle addressed to Urban Regius of Augsburg (who afterwards passed over to the Lutherans on the doctrine of the sacrament,) a long letter or paper on the subject of original sin, on which subject it has been supposed that his sentiments were "never completely orthodox."[1] His doctrine in this paper would at first sight appear to be highly objectionable, and he acknowledges that he had been supposed by many, and some of them persons of great name, to hold peculiar and dangerous sentiments on the subject of which he writes. He maintains that original sin is not properly *sin*, but a calamity, a malady or disorder (morbus) of our nature, consequent upon the fall of Adam. Hence we might imagine that he held the absurd and mischievous doctrine of the schoolmen, that evil disposition, not manifested in evil action, is not sinful.[2] But, as he goes on distinctly to admit the criminality and ill-desert of such evil disposition —that, as our ninth Article states, it "deserveth God's wrath and damnation;"[3] this seems to reduce his notion to little more than an idle dispute (which would have been much better avoided,) concerning the word *sin*, whether it is to be confined to an *act* contrary to the law of God, or may not very properly, and after

[1] Milner, v. 531 (1132). The paper of Zwingle's here noticed is the "Apology" referred to above, vol. ii. 513. It is found also in his works, vol. ii. fo. 115—122, under the title of "A Declaration concerning Original Sin."

[2] Above, vol. ii. 221; 267.

[3] Fo. 56 (b), 57 (b). His own illustration (56) is that of a young wolf, which is to all intents and purposes a wolf, and therefore liable to be destroyed by the hunter or the shepherd, because it inherits the disposition to kill sheep, though it has never yet killed one.—Yet, 54 (b), he seems to deny to it "reatum!"

scriptural example, be extended to the disposition (equally contrary to the divine law,) from which such acts proceed.[1]—Having discussed the disease, he comes to consider the remedy —which is to be found in Christ alone. And he believes it certainly to extend to all who are born under the Christian covenant—so that none such shall perish without their own actual transgression. He trusts also that this blessing extends to infants *universally*. For the former conclusion he argues from the covenant originally made with "Abraham and his seed," and now extended to Christians. "I connect this freedom of infants from (the condemnation of) original sin, not with the sanctity of their parents, but with that (the faithfulness?) of an electing God." And here he refers to Romans xi.[2] For the latter conclusion, concerning children generally, he quotes Romans v; though he admits that we have but little light upon the subject. He rejects the idea that baptism washes away original sin and

A. D. 1531.

The Christian covenant.

Infants.

[1] Above, vol. i. 442-3. J. H. Hottinger (viii. 294, &c.) comes precisely to the same conclusion as I have here done: and urges (297-8,) that in the article agreed upon at Marpurg Zwingle virtually abandons his "logomachy," and speaks unequivocally and unexceptionably on the subject of original sin. As Dr. Milner (v. 321,) differs from Hottinger respecting this article of Marpurg, pronouncing it "penned with some ambiguity," I subjoin a translation of it. "Art. 4. We believe that original sin has been propagated to us from Adam, and that it is a sin which condemns all men; and that, if Christ had not brought us relief by his death and his life, we must have died eternally on account of it, and could not have been partakers of the kingdom of God and salvation." Melch. Ad. in Vit. Zuing. i. 15.

[2] Fo. 59 (b). Elsewhere he quotes in proof of his doctrine, *For as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive*—adding, "that is, all that believe, or are included in the promise made to the church." De Provid. Op. ii. 372.

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Baptism.

condemnation. The blessing, he says, is not tied to signs and symbols: baptism *recognizes* and *attests* the privilege, rather than *confers* it. "What scriptural authority," he asks, "is there for ascribing such an effect to baptism?" [1]

The heathen.

In this paper he also introduces his sentiment, elsewhere more fully stated, concerning the virtuous heathen. He speaks of "the faith of Seneca;" and quotes as an instance of it the well-known sentence, "We ought so to live as if some one could look into our breasts; and indeed there is One that can do it." "Who," he asks, "first implanted this *faith* in Seneca's heart?" and he argues in support of his opinion from such men's shewing "the work of the law written in their hearts." (Romans ii.)—The sentiment which he thus maintains, he says, "does not supersede Christ, but on the contrary extends his glory;" as it is through him alone that their (supposed) faith is implanted, and that they themselves are accepted, though they know him not. [2] On this subject I refer the reader to Dr. Milner's remarks: [3] only adding an expression of deeply painful regret, that there should appear, in point of fact, so little to support the conclusion, that the moral virtue of the class of persons referred to was

[1] Fo. 60 (b), 61 (b). "This sign does not join us to the church, but he who is already joined to the church receives this public token of it." 61.

[2] Fo. 57, 59 (b).

[3] Milner v. 524-5, 531-2. (1125, 1133.) J. H. Hottinger (viii. 286—293,) considers Zwingle's famous passage concerning the heathen. He urges, 1. That the work in which it occurs was posthumous, and would probably never have seen the light in its present state had its author lived; and, 2. That, after all, it does not call in question the necessity of faith, as appears from the explanation furnished by the passages here cited in the text.

such, or sprang from such a principle, as might constitute it, in any sense, "the obedience of faith;" and, arguing from the case of those heathen philosophers to whom the gospel was offered, so little to countenance the idea that they had any such "faith" as was *ready* to receive the gospel when proposed to it. A. D. 1531.

In this paper he dwells upon *selfishness* as the essence of our depravity. He also *appears* to speak of appointment to eternal life and that to eternal death as equally absolute, and alike dependent on the sovereign will of God: which, if it really be his meaning, must be considered as crude and unwarrantable in the extreme.[1] I apprehend however that almost all such passages in these writers refer to men considered as *sinners*, deserving perdition, and not simply as *creatures*.—He speaks, amusingly enough, of its having been a fact of ill omen, that Eve should have been formed of a rib taken from Adam's side, while he slept so profoundly as not to perceive his loss. "What might not *she* attempt, and hope to effect," he asks, "undetected by her husband?"[2] Selfishness. Predestination.

His conclusion is fine. "Let us not be prematurely anxious about the manner in which the mass may be abolished, and images banished, but let us direct our care and labour to this end, that our hearts, naturally devoted to the world, may be recovered to God. The mass has already fallen; images will disappear of themselves: but in vain will these and other evils be removed unless public piety be restored." "How many heathens have met a glorious death? and shall we, the soldiers of a commander who has so loved us, and is so Great points to be aimed at.

[1] Fo. 56 (b). [2] Fo. 55 (b).

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faithful to us, shrink from danger in his service?—especially when we look not for an empty name, but for an eternal inheritance, such as may be worthy of the only-begotten Son of God, with whom we are *joint-heirs*. Let us pray for one another, that God would perfect what he has begun in us, and so establish our hearts that we may never be wanting to his service and glory." [1]

13. To Urban Regius.

13. In another letter to the same friend, 16 October, 1526, he makes some further remarks on the subject of election, and on the salvation of infants.

Election.

"The words of Mark xvi. 16. relate to those only to whom the gospel was sent. They that hear the gospel and believe it are blessed, they who hear it and believe it not are accursed. But this is no prejudice to election, for both they who come to Christ are drawn to him by the Father: which is election: and they who come to the Father are chosen by him: but so that they may at length come to him by Christ....

Salvation of infants.

The (infant) children of Christians are the children of God by virtue of the covenant. Concerning the children of heathens we decide nothing: though I confess that I incline to the sentiment which considers the death of Christ as available to the salvation of all who are free from actual sin.[2]

14. To Haller and Colbius. "Elenchus," &c.

14. But of several of these subjects he treats more fully in an epistle to Haller and Colbius of Berne, of the date of 28 April, 1527, and in his "Detection of the Artifices of the Anabaptists," published in July of the same year, and inserted in the collection of his Epistles.[3]

In the former he considers it as a great fault

[1] Epist. fo. 54—61.

[2] Epist. fo. 17, 18. Zuing. Op. i. 382. [3] Fo. 81—110.

of the Anabaptists to excommunicate people for insufficient and improper causes. Here also he pointedly argues, "What would have been the feelings of the Jewish converts in the primitive times, had they found their children excluded from the church—so contrary to all that they had ever known under a dispensation of acknowledged divine authority? Would they not have raised even a far greater controversy on this point, than in favour of circumcising gentile converts? But no such controversy ever was raised." Origen, he observes, says (early in the third century) that the practice of baptizing infants obtained in his time, "having been delivered down from the apostles."—The third part of the Detection exhibits more of the writer's doctrinal views than those which precede. Here, as above, he maintains that it was not circumcision, and is not baptism, which "engrafts men into Christ:" it rather "recognises and seals them as already belonging to him."[1] A great argument of the whole piece is, that the passages which require repentance and faith, in order to the admission into the church, do not apply to those who are incapable of any explicit exercise of these Christian graces: and that such passages no more exclude children from the Christian church, than the calls made upon the Israelites "to hear and obey," with the promises that if they did so they should be God's people, excluded their children because they were yet incapable of performing those duties.[2] He shews that God's covenant with

A. D. 1531.

Anabaptists. Infant baptism.

Baptism does not first graft into Christ.

[1] See Jewel, Reply &c. p. 20, 21. Hooker, ii. 252, 253.

[2] This is important as obviating the argument from such passages as Acts viii. 37. They no more exclude infants than Mark xvi. 16. condemns them.

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Election.

his church has in all ages been one and the same[1]—the differences under successive dispensations (which he discusses,) being only circumstantial. And here he is led to treat explicitly of election;[2] his views of which are decidedly what have been since termed Calvinistic, though his statement of them is, in the main, wise and practical. He understands by God's election such a choice of individuals as secures their effectual calling and final salvation.... It is the *cause* and not the *consequence* of their faith; but faith and its fruits, in holy obedience, are the necessary *proofs* of the election of any individual; and by them alone can his election be known.[3] "In reading the epistle to the Romans," our author says, "we do not sufficiently consider what leads the apostle to introduce the subject of election. He had previously proved that salvation is by faith: but faith proceeds not from human resources but from the Spirit of God.... God gives it to those whom he hath called—understanding here, by *called*, truly sanctified: he calls those whom he hath destined to salvation: he destines to salvation those whom he hath chosen: he chooses whom he will. The whole therefore is free, and belongs entirely to God—as the making of different vessels out of the same mass of clay does to the potter. This is the sum and substance of S. Paul's doctrine of election."

Epistle to the Romans.

Afterwards he says: "They that have faith are justified;.... there is no condemnation for them: for they are not of those who say, Let us sin, that the glory of God may be the more illustriously displayed; but of those who as

[1] Fo. 106—108. [2] Fo. 108 (b)—111. [3] Fo. 110.

often as through frailty they have offended return to the Lord imploring, *Forgive us our trespasses;* .... who are more grieved at displeasing God than at offending all the world beside; and therefore bewail themselves, *Against Thee, Thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight.*"[1] A.D. 1531.

Elect infants.

He fully believes that the children of Christians, dying in infancy, are to be numbered among the elect: and he again condemns it, as presumptuous and unwarrantable, to pronounce unfavourably of *any* children, whether their parents be Christians or not. We have no right, he says, to decide against any except for their actual unbelief, or rejection of the gospel.[2]

15. Answer to 46 Questions.

15. We find also inserted among the Epistles forty-six questions concerning baptism, the church, the Christian ministry, and other topics, proposed by one who considered infant baptism as "the basis of popery, and the source of all ignorance and errors in the church of God;" with Zwingle's answers to them. The composition is without date.

Election and reprobation.

He first lays down twenty axioms, which, he says, will serve "to untie the knots not only of the present questions, but of almost all questions that arise in theology." His axioms begin with election as the basis of every thing, and distinctly include reprobation! "They who acknowledge divine providence must, by so doing, recognise election also.... Election is nothing else than the present and eternal

[1] Fo. 109.

[2] Fo. 110. In Op. i. 371-2, the question meets him, of those supposed elect in their infancy not apparently proving to be so afterwards: but he pronounces it "more curious than pious," and observes that "means are predestinated as well as ends."

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appointment [of God] concerning those who shall enjoy everlasting happiness. Rejection is the contrary of this... All the children of God were elected before the foundation of the world. But they are chosen *in Christ;* that is, they are so chosen as to come to God through him.... Election therefore is that which secures salvation, but by Christ. God, who freely determines all things, blesses whom he will—but by Christ; that is by himself, by his own goodness and grace. For Christ is the pledge of [the divine] goodness, and the redemption of sins [paid] to the divine justice—which must ever be preserved inviolate. But God blesses by an eternal appointment.... No one believes who has not been before destined and ordained to eternal life. But many are elect who have not yet received faith, or even existence..... Judas and Cain were as much rejected to eternal misery before the foundation of the world, as the blessed virgin and the crucified thief were chosen to eternal blessedness!"[1]

To say the least, have we not here predestination, election, reprobation administered to us *in the lump*,[2] in a way which the scriptures do not exemplify, and which is suited to produce an impression different from what they produce?

[1] Fo. 70.

[2] "Mr. Newton used to say, that Calvinism should be, in our general religious instructions, like a lump of sugar in a cup of tea; all should taste of it, but it should not be met with in a separate form." Rev. T. Scott's Life, p. 458.—It is admitted that the paper of Zwingle's which we are considering differs from a sermon to a popular audience. But his assertions are very unflinching. He says concerning Esau's dying in infancy: "Mori non potuit quem divina providentia creavit, ut viveret, atque impie viveret!" fo. 110. (b).

This paper also strongly asserts the doctrine of final perseverance. "They that have obtained true faith by the gift of God cannot fall from it."[1] A. D. 1531.

He then proceeds to shew that nothing is more common in scripture than the application of terms, by synecdoche, to many things to which they do not strictly and properly belong. Multitudes are included in "the church," and thus have things predicated of them, in general terms, which do not really pertain to them individually, but only to the true and elect members of the church. It must be so here: man cannot discriminate the elect from the reprobate, or even the sincere from the insincere. Many appear now to belong to the synagogue of Satan, who are in God's sight elect members of his church, and heirs of salvation: and many appear to be of the latter class, who really are of the former.—Hence he argues, as we have before seen him doing, that to pretend to exclude from baptism and from the church all who have not faith is vain and presumptuous: that we must admit all of whom we may, in a reasonable and charitable judgment, hope that they are of the number of God's elect.[2]

Effect of baptism.

In his answers to the questions, which follow his axioms, the following sentences occur. "All who are baptized put on Christ, *in the judgment of the church;*[3] but in the sight of God not even all do it who profess faith for themselves." And to the objection, that no fruit appears in many who are baptized, he replies, that "many are elect children of God who do not (yet) shew it by their works."—

[1] Fo. 75, et alibi. [2] Fo. 70 (b), 71.
[3] "In the eye of the church." Hooker.

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"The church confers *the sacrament*, not *the thing*. The sacrament *signifies* the thing: but there is a great difference between *signifying* and *effecting*—inter significare et præstare."—"Arise and be baptized, and *wash away thy sins*" (Acts xxii.) means, he says "Be baptized *to testify* thy belief that remission of sins is only by the grace of God" through Christ. He maintains that the baptism of John was the same with that of Christ:[1] a position which appears not to be well founded.

After reading the statements above cited,[2] I own myself surprised at the following declaration of Dr. Milner: "On a careful perusal of his (Zwingle's) voluminous writings, I am convinced that certain peculiar sentiments, afterwards maintained by Calvin, concerning the absolute decrees of God, made *no* part of the theology of the Swiss reformer."[3] He adds in a note, "This subject may be examined more accurately in the sequel of this history."—What special "peculiarities" of Calvin's sentiments may be referred to I know not; but surely the fundamental principles of the doctrine which he maintained, and even its excesses, are with sufficient strength and explicitness laid down in the sentences which have been recited.—Mosheim also says,[4] "The *absolute decree* of God with respect to the future and everlasting condition of the human race ... made no part of the theology of Zwingle."—The contrary view of the question is confirmed, if after what we have read confirmation could be necessary, by the conduct of Bolsec, who first raised opposition to Calvin at Geneva on

[1] Fo. 74. He argues this point more at large, De vera et falsa religione. Op. ii. fo. 200, 201. Calvin held the same.
[2] See also Epist. fo. 29. [3] Milner, v. 515. [4] Vol. iv. 81.

the subject of predestination, and who "condemned Zwingle above all others"—evidently for his doctrine on this head.[1] A. D. 1531.

II. We now proceed to the epistles of Œcolampadius. II. Letters of Œcolampadius.

1. A few sentences may be given from a letter to Hedio, at Mentz, dated from the castle of Francis Sickengen,[2] in June, 1522; because, if not very important, they may yet serve to illustrate the early history of the writer. Hedio had inquired concerning the changes which Œcolampadius was reported to have introduced into the services of the church, reading them partly in German, instead of Latin, and making sundry omissions, particularly in the canon of the mass.[3] Œcolampadius in reply corrects the exaggerated reports; states that he did little more than read the epistles and gospels in the vulgar tongue; and, in justification of what he did, recites the substance of a sermon which he had lately delivered on our Lord's words, "The time cometh when I shall no more speak unto you in proverbs."[4] "It is equally unbecoming," he remarks, "timidly to conceal what is piously done for the glory of God and the good of our neighbour, and ostentatiously to blazon it." "As far as possible we are to follow peace with all men: but we are not so to follow it as to give up Christ and his truths and precepts, who says that he *came not to send peace on earth but a sword.*" "They," he observes, "who read the services in Latin so corruptly, and miserably, that they neither understand what they read themselves, nor make it under- 1. To Hedio: on changes in the church services.

[1] Eccles. Genev. in Calv. Epist. p. 64, Op. ix.
[2] See vol. ii. 377. [3] Epist. fo. 11 (b).
[4] Ib. fo. 11—17.

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stood by others, find indulgence: they who mutter over the services in such silence that it is believed they do not read them at all escape censure: and even those who interrupt them with laughter and wanton motions scarcely incur admonition; and shall I be exposed to the reproaches of persons who ought to applaud my proceedings?"[1]—He shews however all that regard for order which we should expect from one of his character, and at this early period: yet he boldly contends for the slight innovation which he had made, and which was so loudly called for.

2. To Hedio.

2. To the same, about the time of the diet of Nuremberg, A.D. 1522-3.[2]

Encouragements against persecution.

"The pope's legate is said to be sent to Nuremberg to bring the affair of Luther to a termination.... It may be expected to prove a time of crowns and rewards, (martyrdoms,) seeing the princes are so hostile. None should be less disposed to grieve than they who are engaged in the conflict. We have only to be quiet and endeavour to lay aside every weight and hinderance. We have to contend with cowards, and those who have already been repeatedly vanquished. Let us never fear enemies who have been conquered by women, conquered by children; men over whom their own passions always tyrannize, and hurry them into all kinds of evil. Christ is our liberty; if we boldly avow him, disregarding ourselves, our interests will all be safe; and that which most men fear will prove our gain. May the Lord strengthen you that you may never waver, nor have the same (infirmity) to lament that I have.[3] I hope, however, that by the

[1] Epist. fo. 11, 12. [2] Milner, v. 101 &c. (606).
[3] Vol. ii. 375.

grace of the Lord I shall be again restored to the light, and to the society and service of his people—for without that it were better to continue in concealment, and to live, like Diogenes, in a tub. My dear brother, I beseech you, give not way to dejection. The same Lord who was with them that have gone before us will not fail those who are to follow after; for he is *the first and the last*. Under his guidance it were weak indeed to fear: let us only confide. How can he that is all-sufficient desert us? We are *his*: may we mind only what belongs to him!" [1] A. D. 1531.

3. To the same, 21 January, 1523. 3. To Hedio.

"That which above all things I entreat of you is, that you would daily become more confirmed in the faith of Christ, and daily more and more edify the people of Christ, with words of fire *(ignitis verbis)*. But there is no need for me thus to admonish you, who I know bend all your efforts to that point. I rather therefore beg you, as knowing your faith and zeal, to intercede for me, that Christ would look upon my unworthiness, and revive my miserable soul with his grace. For I also have a conflict to maintain, and the more severe for its being more secret. My sloth and cowardice reproach me: and still, through my old fault, I want power to rise superior to them. I always therefore am far from the mark. In consequence I feel the necessity, at least on my own part, (as we accustom ourselves to mutual exhortations,) of requiring that we should not neglect to pray for one another."—On the approaching first disputation of Zuric he expresses sentiments, which we may conclude from his Mutual exhortation. Humble confessions.

[1] Epist. fo. 210 (b).

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own conduct he would afterwards have modified: "I could wish that a simple explanation only had been proposed; for discussion produces disputation, disputation quarrelling, and quarrelling hatred: and where hatred exists what place is left for the truth?" [1]

4. To Blaurer.

Blaurer's Apology, or vindication of himself.

4. Writing to Blaurer of Constance from Basle, 9 March, probably in the year 1524, he gives excellent advice, bearing upon that eagerness in self-vindication under injurious charges, which is so natural to us. Blaurer, claiming the benefit of some former acquaintance which, it would seem, was not within the recollection of Œcolampadius, had sent to him in manuscript an Apology, or Defence of himself against his accusers, begging him, if he approved it, to get it printed. Œcolampadius returns him the manuscript, accompanied by the following remarks. "I never stopped till I had read it quite through. It pleased me mightily. I seemed to myself to be reading the story of my own dangers, and was affected by it accordingly. I felt anxious what to advise about it.... Had I followed my own feelings and the suggestions of the old Adam, I should have urged the printing of it immediately. Your defence would have conduced to my honour: for our cases are similar, except that I am placed among a people perhaps still more addicted to superstition, still more impatient of the truth, and still more neglectful of charity. But far be it from me on such grounds to overlook the real interests of a friend who reposes confidence in me. I think you will not disapprove my advice. Very wise men have given me the like, fearing lest I

On self-vindication.

[1] Fo. 209.

should publish, against those among whom I live, an apology resembling yours." After this introduction he proceeds as follows. "After deeply considering the question on all sides, I am of opinion that it will not be for your advantage to publish what you have written. In the first place, you will not attain your object of clearing yourself from reproach. The judgments of mankind are various and perverse. Often when they see us anxious to vindicate ourselves, without some special call for it, they only suspect us the more. Moreover the world is weary of personal apologies and vindications. Your reputation is safe while the senate of your country justifies you. The reproaches of the Pharisees can never be all silenced. For his sake who was *numbered with the transgressors*, we must bear it, that there should be those who hate and revile and curse us. But we must strive to order our lives so blamelessly that the slander may refute itself, and that they may be confounded who wish us evil, and daily cry over us, *There, There.* You know not, my dear brother, how much false brethren have harassed me: but we must seek another mode of overcoming them, namely that of kindness and suavity. There is not a race of men more wayward and obstinate, and less capable of being wrought upon, than the monks:... but harshness towards them is only mischievous. Their neck is *an iron sinew.* If we cannot subdue them by mildness, we shall never prevail against them at all.... Your wishing to serve others by your Apology, though at your own risk, is magnanimous:... but you know not in how little esteem the more discreet part of mankind hold books in which the personal considerations of the writer are

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mixed up."—In order therefore to render that more public service which he wished, Œcolampadius recommends it to his friend to change his plan, and employ his excellent abilities, and the talent for writing which he evidently possessed, on a work of a more general character.[1]

5. To Augustine Marius.

5. We have related some transactions which took place between Œcolampadius and Augustine Marius, preacher in the cathedral of Basle, and titular bishop of Salona, in the year 1527; in which the latter shewed no very mild or candid temper.[2] In the year 1525 the reformer seems to have entertained better expectations from him, at least he determined to cherish favourable hopes concerning him. On December 4th in that year he addressed to him a very faithful and friendly letter, in which he congratulates Marius on his arrival at Basle, expresses his hope that they might harmoniously preach the gospel together; guards him against those who would endeavour to prejudice his mind, and sow discord between them. "I promise you," he says, "on my part whatever can be expected from a Christian brother: and I confidently look for the same from you. But you know, my brother, that all the discords which have existed have had their origin in a corruption of the divine word. What separated the Pharisees from the apostles? Was it not the authority they assigned to the traditions of the elders, and their deserting the righteousness of God to establish the righteousnesses of men? What introduced so many heresies, and so many false teachers? Was it not that the inventions of the philosophers were found captivating, while the doctrine

Necessity of adhering simply to the scriptures:

[1] Epist. fo. 196. Confer Gerd. ii. 261. [2] Vol. ii. 470-1.

of the cross appeared contemptible? We are still exposed to the same danger, if we depart a hair's breadth from the prescribed rule. We shall easily agree, if with one mind, taking Christ for our guide, we seek the glory of God —which is the scope and design of scripture: but no peace, no profit, no commendation in Christ must be hoped for, if we once begin to mingle human inventions with divine revelations. I exhort you therefore, my brother, who are forward of your own accord,[1] evermore to give this honour to God—to prefer nothing before his word; nay to admit nothing beside it. *If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God.* So the chief of the apostles prescribes. You, like all other ministers of Christ, will not want opponents: for the world will be irritated at seeing its kingdom go to ruin: the devil will gnash his teeth at finding his power undermined. But you are well aware that *they* have need of constancy, patience, and long-suffering, who undertake the services on which you are now entering: and in which may you long and successfully persevere! Undisguised openness and sincerity will also be necessary to harmony and concord. Without arrogance I would say, (acknowledging the gift of God bestowed upon me,) I feel a confidence that for these three years past I have taught nothing which I cannot maintain from the word of Christ. I have ever been ready to render an account of my doctrine and of the grounds of it: and to this day I have no more earnest desire than to discuss the question even with my greatest adversaries. The changes which I have introduced, or at-

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and of ingenuous openness.

[1] Sponte currentem.

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tempted to introduce, come under the same predicament: a good conscience required them.

"But why do I write thus? I know persons will not be wanting to stir you up, if you will allow them to abuse your good nature; to teach you to regard us as innovators; and to inveigh against us, at least, in harsh language. But consider with yourself what must be the consequence if we find our now prosperous work thus obstructed. Could your own zeal, in such circumstances, avoid breaking forth, and using *the sword of the Spirit*, the word of God, which we know they seek to wrest from us? We are anxious and most cordially disposed for friendship. Charity is above all things pleasing to our heavenly Father: yet we must not be found unfaithful, timid, dumb. I entreat therefore that you will not lend your ear to those who would poison it against us. If any thing displeases you, come and tell me of it; or communicate your sentiments by letter: and, if I do not satisfy you from the inspired scriptures; if you do not find me labouring for the glory of Christ; if you detect me disporting with the Midianitish harlot, that is, with strange doctrine, pernicious to God's people; spare me not: shew yourself another Phinehas. But do not imitate those who condemn without a hearing: a conduct which even the rudest barbarians might reprobate.—Such is the course I propose to pursue, if only you do not treat my offers of free communication with contempt. Such want of courtesy, and even of common humanity, might drive me to disdain you in return. May Christ avert it! It will conduce also to agreement among us if you will not despise the gift of tongues—the examination

of the scriptures in the original languages. . . . Thus you have, my brother, my undisguised offers of friendship: which I beseech you to receive in a candid and Christian manner. You shall find in me no antagonist, but a friend, and a brother without guile, if only you will be a fellow-soldier contending for the truth derived from the divine oracles. I pray God to prosper your entering in among us, and to make it conducive to the glory of Christ. Amen."[1] A. D. 1531.

This letter cannot be too much admired, especially as illustrating a duty often neglected by good men. The faithfulness of the letter is unquestionable: but many, who might have imitated Œcolampadius's faithfulness, have been wanting in his frankness, his candour, his charity—which "hopeth all things." It does not appear under what particular circumstances Marius had been called to Basle: but there can be little doubt that the party opposed to the reformation expected to find in him a friend and supporter: and such he proved. But, in the absence of all decisive evidence of his hostility, Œcolampadius would assume him to be yet unprejudiced, and such as his *professed* character required him to be—a friend of the truth, a Christian minister zealous for the glory of his divine Master. He therefore, though without saying a word which could foster self-deception, addresses him as such—in a manner suited to confirm every good disposition which might exist within; to soften down any prejudice which he might have conceived; and, even if he proved an enemy, to disarm or baffle him as far as possible—to deprive him Remarks on frankness and candour.

[1] Epist. fo. 177-8.

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of every handle which he might have found against those whom he came to oppose. Such a mode of proceeding is at once that of true policy, and, in the simplicity of heart with which Œcolampadius adopted it, that of genuine Christian charity. We may easily make men our enemies by assuming them to be such, and in consequence treating them with distance and reserve. Not all are *opposed* to us, who are not fully of our *party*. Many wait for information, and would welcome it were it offered in the frank and friendly spirit here exemplified, who are perhaps finally repelled by the silence and distrust into which our own selfishness, or prejudice, or indolence, or cowardice, rather than any genuine zeal for Christ, betrays us.

6. To Somius.

6. To Conrad Somius of Ulm, 9 February, 1526.

On simplicity of views.

"How faithfully you labour in the Lord's vineyard all good men testify. Go on, and never expect to find your labours less or lighter than they are. Grow not weary of your work; nor look to have the triumph over a conquered world, and eternal glory awarded you, without your having here striven lawfully. The consciousness of having done all for the honour and glory of the universal sovereign Lord is a mighty stay to the mind, to support its constancy. On the contrary, nothing so much converts the *pillars* of the church into *reeds shaken with the wind*, as the desire of their own glory.[1] I need not mention examples: you have them near you. May a merciful God grant to such that they may not always dissemble known truth!"[2]—Oh let no minister of Christ

[1] Can we avoid thinking of Erasmus?

[2] Fo. 209 (b).

—none that would aspire to be such—overlook the remark here made on the "desire of vain-glory," 'a restless and ever-working principle,' wherever it finds admission, 'at constant war with all our Christian graces.' A. D. 1531.

7. To Simon Grynæus and Martin Frecht, professors at Heidelberg, 20 April, 1526. 7. To Grynæus and Frecht.

"Grace and peace from Christ! My dearly beloved brethren, blessed be our Lord who not only comforts us, and leads us to the knowledge of himself, which is hidden from this blinded age, but also gives you courage and ability to comfort, and exhort, and enlighten others. I will not conceal from you, or withhold my thanks for it, the benefit which you have conferred upon me, when I was like a stag hunted and driven up and down by the hounds. Your letters have refreshed me, and raised in me the hope that God has still reserved to himself many thousands who will not bow their knees to Baal. For what wonder is it if, while the whole world rises with loud threatenings against the prophets of the Lord, and destroys some of them with the sword, or with bonds, or fire, or water, or poison, or the stench of a dungeon; (such instances of tyrannical cruelty are heard of on all sides;) and drives others to flight, or deprives them of their employments;—what wonder, if the desponding thought should enter the minds of us, the feeblest of Christ's ministers, that the cause of truth and righteousness is ruined? But, when we animate one another by conference or correspondence, our despondency is repressed, and serenity of mind returns. Let us not therefore omit this service when we have the opportunity of performing it."[1]

Conflicts:

and benefits of Christian communion.

[1] Fo. 212.

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8. To Somius, 10 February, 1527.

8. To Somius. Success at Ulm.

"Beloved brother, It gives us great joy here to learn what things Christ works by your means, and through the instrumentality of his word at Ulm. The remembrance of our old friendship makes such news peculiarly refreshing to me. We pray that he who has begun this work will perfect it: for Satan will not cease from his arts until he be entirely put down by the coming of the Lord. . . Who would not be terrified at the diabolical machinations which are resorted to? But we have learned that trials are good for us—that the thoughts of man are vain—and that *cursed is he who maketh flesh his arm.* The cross must either be borne (resolutely), or quite thrown off. *Nothing is more fatal to the church of God than lukewarm ministers.*[1] In the mean time we must help one another by our mutual prayers, comfort one another by friendly letters, and communicate what the Spirit imparts to us. . . . Our enemies are too violent to allow us to hope for peace; but the goodness of God is too great to permit us to despond."[2]

Afflictions.

Lukewarm ministers.

9. To Farel. State of things at Basle.

9. To Farel at Aigle, 1527.—"Go on zealously, my friend, and be not stumbled by our delays (of reformation at Basle). We wish to have the name of excellent Christians, while we are more anxious for the friendship of the world than the very heathen are."—He speaks of the mass as being, with the consent of the senate, entirely abolished in S. Martin's church, (his own charge,) and in the church of the Augustinian friars. In other churches it was languidly supported, and was neglected by the people. Some zealots however had obtained

[1] Above, p. 51.

[2] Fo. 205 (b).

an order from the senate for its retention. "The hypocrisy of the people," he says, "calls for such rulers. God grant that nothing worse may follow: for Satan neglects no occasion. But let not that disturb you." Speaking of his own engagements, he throws in the remark, that "great labour was to be esteemed great pleasure—Siquidem labor ingens inter delicias computari potest."[1] A.D. 1531.

10. To the same, 25 November, 1527.— "My beloved brother: you cannot be uninformed of the conference piously ordered by the lords of Berne to be held on the subject of religion, nor can you fail to approve of it. I add that you cannot but pray the Lord to give it a prosperous issue. Perhaps that will be the day on which the Lord Jesus may deign to look upon us! Certainly, we are here involved in perpetual conflict. The preaching of the gospel ever encounters the same fate: the cross is its constant companion, and it has always to carry on war against false teachers."—He offers to act as interpreter to his friend at the disputation.[2] 10. To Farel. Disputation of Berne.

In another letter to Farel, who had sent him money, understanding that he was in want, which he declares he is not, he returns the remittance, and says, "Hitherto the Lord has heard my prayers, and given me neither poverty nor riches. . . . I have never yet been so poor, that, if death had come, I should not have wished myself poorer"—he means, I presume, by having given more away.[3] Disinterestedness.

11. Writing to Melchior Ambach and John Mantelius, "faithful confessors of Christ and 11. To Ambach and Mantelius.

[1] Fo. 184. [2] Fo. 201. Compare above, p. 155-6.
[3] Ibid.

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Encouragement under persecution.

beloved brethren," 5 September, 1528, he sympathises with them under the ills of persecution, particularly as they affected the deserted flock, who were left to wolves or hirelings, while the enemy triumphed, the weak were discouraged, and those who were coming forward were repelled. "All these," he says, "besides the evils of banishment, (often worse than death itself,) are enough to move any heart which has in it the least spark of Christian charity; yet, since we know that we have a faithful God, who *will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able,* a host of consolations is not wanting to us. The Spirit of God, who has trained you for this conflict, will supply you with all needful strength and courage. Your proscription and imposed silence shall sound more audibly in the hearts of the faithful than the loudest sermons. Your present confession shall be the inviolable seal of your former instructions. The blood of Abel had *a voice;* and your sufferings have a tongue. Away then with sadness and pusillanimity! It is blessed to be made conformable to the crucified One, whom we preach. Christ knows his sheep, and will deliver them from the jaws of the wolf. The joy of the hypocrites shall be but momentary: for the Lord will not give his glory to another. Have confidence therefore, brethren. The earth is Christ's, and the fulness thereof. Perhaps he has only removed you from your situation that you may reap a richer harvest....We will however leave nothing untried to serve you: and in the mean time I doubt not that the Holy Spirit, displaying to you the glorious prize of victory, will comfort you with his unction, which we pray may be shed abundantly upon you. Pray for

me also: for we are often on the verge of the same danger with yourselves."[1] A. D. 1531.

12. To an anonymous correspondent. On the sacramental controversy, and the part he had taken in it.

12. To ———, "his beloved brother in Christ:" 9 November, 1528.

"Health to you in Christ! You seem to me not far from the kingdom of God: not only because you do not oppose the truth, but because you *seek* to tread the safe path, even if your feet do not yet stand in the middle of the king's highway. I wish therefore to return a simple and hasty reply, such as my engagements will permit me, to your learned and eloquent epistle. It must not move us, my brother, if grievous wolves from various quarters harass the flock of Christ: for the event shall be, to the elect, honour and glory. How should the gold be proved without the furnace of trial?—I venture not however to divine against what parties you direct some of your remarks. Perhaps you have some fault to find with me, who have sent forth something on the words of the Lord's supper. I did it, however, unwillingly, and was dragged reluctantly into the controversy, as I often declared. It gives me little satisfaction: but I do not see how I could have avoided it, our adversaries were so fierce. I would rather have been employed on topics more purely sacred. But it is not a mere contest of words: it involves a deep obscuration of Christ and corruption of the faith. For some have attributed so much to a carnal eating of Christ in the sacrament, as to make a simple faith in Christ crucified not sufficient to give peace to the soul: which is contrary to the words of Christ, and derogatory to the power of faith. Others, while contend-

[1] Fo. 191-2.

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ing that the bread is the very substance of Christ's body, make it superior to all created substances, and thus open a wide door to idolatry. Now, even if I had not been specially challenged into the field, how could I with a good conscience have seen numbers involved in such errors, and remain silent?—But, if you suppose that (in that question) we have followed the guidance of mere reason, you are much mistaken—though many charge that upon us. Far be it from us! No: we first listened to faith, and made her our only mistress. But, that nature itself should in many things subserve faith, and that reason should not contradict her—is there any thing wonderful in this?...But we do not employ ourselves wholly on such controversies. The prophets are expounded amongst us, the gospels are preached. And what if a corrupt generation be but partially reformed? Can we force the Holy Spirit on men who use no exertions of themselves, and resist his influences?[1] Are we better than Jeremiah, who could not, by forty years' preaching, prevent the lamented destruction of the holy city? Can we be more earnest than Noah, who taught a hundred years, and yet saved so few from the flood? However diligently we may teach, it is another that gives the increase."[2]

Besides some wise and holy suggestions of a more general kind, this letter is interesting as discovering the views, taken by the writer, on the retrospect of a controversy on which much of his own time and of that of his friends was employed. It shews on what grounds, especially, he felt it to be important, and what were his sentiments on the part he had taken in it.

[1] "Ignavis et renitentibus." [2] Epist. fo. 169.

A.D. 1531.

13. To the pastors of Mulhausen.

13. In the name of "the pastors of Basle to Otto (Binder), Augustine, and James, pastors of Mulhausen:" 6 November, 1529. The pastors addressed were unhappily involved in variance among themselves. The address is truly paternal, humble, and yet urgent. We give only a short specimen. "We exhort you, and in exhorting you exhort ourselves, to consider well in what a situation the Lord hath placed us; how many look up to us; how many eyes are upon us: what enemies we have; what numbers will reproach us even when we live ever so innocently; how tender the flock is which we are set to keep; and how many dangers on all sides surround us. It is not our own business which we have to conduct, but Christ's. It is no common business, but such as is of the highest concernment—that which he himself undertook, as the most important. Let us not underrate the service in which we are engaged. But we *do* even despise it, if we apply not to it with becoming gravity and purity. Not only do they corrupt the word of God, who intermix with it false doctrines, but they also who admit their own passions into their preaching; and, while they would draw odium upon their brethren, betray the envy which actuates their own minds. What place can there be for contention where nothing but the glory of Christ is sought in our preaching? Is any man wise? let him first be *wise to himself*. Has he any thing to propose for the profit of the church? let him propose it without prejudice to a brother who also faithfully labours in the same vineyard: lest, while he unseasonably and improperly sets himself to root up tares, (which yet may not *be* tares,) he destroy the wheat—not another's only but his

Against contention among ministers.

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own—or rather neither his nor another's, but Christ's.....If any thing of human infirmity therefore has crept in among us, we beseech you for Christ's sake, and for the sake of the service in which we are engaged, and by all that we hold sacred and dear, let us forgive one another, after his example who has forgiven us ten thousand talents: let us hail one another, acknowledge one another, respect one another, as friends and fellow-labourers of Christ: and, if any thing occurs in our preaching which displeases any of us, do not let us presently contradict it before the people, but let us meet together, and examine the scriptures upon it, and consider the arguments on one side and on the other; and let him who is shewn from scripture to have been wrong yield to him who has convinced him, and return thanks for the light he has received. Where there is a humble heart, a spirit remote from pride; and when a man seeks to consecrate all his attainments to the glory of Christ and not to his own; this will be easy. For the source of envy is pride, which fears not being sufficiently honoured. He who thinks humbly of himself and honourably of his neighbour will be thankful that Christ should be preached, by whomsoever or on whatsoever occasion it may be." [1]

Thus did these holy men watch over one another, and exhort one another in the Lord: and such were the high and holy principles which they inculcated, and by which they sought to be governed.

14. To Frecht.

14. To Martin Frecht of Ulm, 20 April, 1530.—"Health in Christ! I ought long since

[1] Fo. 202-3.

A.D. 1531.

On intercourse with Christian friends.

to have congratulated you, my dear friend, on the professorship which you have so honourably obtained.[1] Both our old friendship, and the hope that now the name of Christ shall be more illustriously displayed in your city, should have exacted this of me. But you are aware what things deter many in these times from doing that which they wish to do; seeing the perfidy of the wicked assumes such licence, even in violation of the public faith. I approve not, however, of such pusillanimity in writing. We, who have so decidedly the better cause, ought to be superior to the world, and to overawe it: whereas, if we are so servile as to shrink from writing to one another from the apprehension of danger—*fearing where no fear is*—how much more imperiously may we expect the enemies of the church to domineer, and restrain even the use of our tongues. When therefore shall we openly oppose ourselves to our adversaries? How shall we animate the weak by our examples? where shall be found the comfort of love? where the free confession of Christ? where the confusion of our enemies? where our own hopes? Far be it from us to hold back from correspondence, or from any other offices that become a Christian. Even therefore if the bearer of my letters were not so friendly or so faithful as I trust he is, I would yet write to express my joy and my anticipations.—I pray God to be with you, and enable you to make the full improvement of your situation: for, though you still dwell among scorpions, and have a prince occupied

[1] Frecht had been called from Heidelberg, and became chief pastor of Ulm, where he continued till he was led away in chains by the emperor Charles V. in 1548.—Vol ii. 31, 136.—M. Ad. i. 145. Seckendorf, iii. 18.

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with other affairs,[1] yet the hand of the Lord is not shortened, that it cannot endue you with such strength from above as shall render your ministry fruitful, and enable you, in the exercise of faithfulness, prudence, and zeal, to prevent another from destroying what you have wrought. He will give unto you not to rest till the enemy is subdued, and science falsely so called[2] gives place to sound theology; and truth reigns in the church on the ruins of impiety and error.—Your predecessor Schybenhard was a good and learned man; but the situation required a more commanding spirit, one that despised the world, and counted all but loss for the advancement of the glory of Christ. I wish and hope that you may do more honour to the professor's chair, than it can do to you: for your heart will be set upon the expulsion of Antichrist from the schools as well as the churches, and above all from the hearts of men. May Christ be with you! Let me hear from you from time to time."[3]—Here again we have the description of the men whom the exigencies of the church require; not only "learned" men, not only "good" men, but men "despising the world, and counting all things but loss for the advancement of the glory of Christ:" men therefore of a "superior spirit," formed to lead and not to follow the manners of the age; and suited to "overawe" the ungodly rather than to be overawed by them.

What men the times required.

15. To the pastors of the canton of Basle.

15. We have seen that in the year 1530 Œcolampadius was commissioned to visit the churches of the canton of Basle, and to introduce such regulations as their state and the

[1] The diet of Augsburg was just at hand.
[2] "Matæologia."
[3] Epist. fo. 211.

state of the clergy might seem to require.[1] In the following letter, though it is without date, we may consider ourselves as possessing, I might say, even a splendid specimen of the manner in which he discharged the delicate but important duties thus devolved upon him. It is addressed to seventeen ministers, by name, "his beloved brethren preaching the gospel in the territory of Basle," but of whom not more than one had ever before occurred to our notice; a circumstance which may tend to shew us how numerous reformed, and in the main faithful ministers were now become.— "Grace and peace from God the Father, through Christ, in the Holy Spirit. Since in this life, dearly beloved brethren, in which we live in exile from home, and *know but in part*, no one is so perfect that he may not be profited by brotherly exhortation and admonition, (for the wise *hear and become wiser,)* I assure myself that your charity will receive this friendly address with the same candour and kindness which dictate it. I have neither to lament over you nor to expostulate with you, as if I found you wanting in zeal or diligence in advancing the cause of the gospel: but, my deacon, Jerome Botanus,[2] who lately visited you, and observed your life and conversation, having reported to me that all things are conducted among you in a becoming and Christian manner, I give thanks to our Saviour Jesus Christ who hath imbued you with such a spirit, that, while others feed themselves,[3] and, looking to the favour of the world, take little care either for their own souls or for the souls committed to them, you choose rather to live in the house

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Admonitions to ministers:

[1] Above, p. 97.

[2] Or Bothan, vol. ii. 571.

[3] Ezek. xxxiv. 1.

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of God, despised by men, but guiding the sheep of Christ to the wholesome pastures of eternal life, than to be honoured in the courts of this world. And I not only give thanks at seeing you endued with this pious temper of mind, but with the most ardent desires of my inmost soul I pray the Author of this gift, the Father of our Redeemer the Lord Jesus Christ, that he will continue henceforward so to enlighten our hearts with faith, to confirm them with hope, to inflame them with love, and to adorn them with the garments of meekness, patience, peace, justice, innocence, and all virtues, that it may become evident from all our conduct, that we seek not our own glory but the glory of Jesus Christ; that we desire not the riches of this world, but heavenly treasures; and that nothing therefore lies nearer to our hearts than the salvation of souls. And I ask these things with a blessed confidence, not doubting that the Spirit of Christ does continually call these graces into existence and exercise in your minds, and that he will happily perfect them.—But, stimulated by the charity which he inspires, I also beg that we may be ever mindful of those things which Christ requires of us, proposing to such as yield them the highest rewards, but threatening to those who neglect them the severest punishments. His words, beloved brethren, ought evermore to sound in our ears, when we walk by the way and when we sit in the house: those words, for instance, which he hath directed against the servant that buries his talent; against the tree which bringeth not forth good fruit; against the husbandmen who render not the fruits in their season; against the scribes who, having the keys of the kingdom of heaven, neither enter

in themselves, nor suffer others to enter in; against the unwatchful servant; against false prophets; and against foolish pastors.[1] Justly may his thunders terrify us; lest we become *salt that hath lost its savour; a blind eye; clouds without water; raging waves of the sea; spots* and stains in the church; *dogs* and *deceitful workers;* and incur the other reproaches with which they are branded who desert their proper office and duty.[2]—In the first place, therefore, let us be careful to order our lives aright; let the eye of the mind be single and right: so that we may have nothing more at heart than to live soberly, justly, innocently, and in a becoming manner, to the glory of God, our heavenly Father. For how shall we raise others out of the pollutions of this world, if we ourselves are sunk in them? Can the flock be expected to go where the shepherd does not lead the way? Will they regard his word more than his example? It would be surprising if they did, since the life of a teacher, not corresponding with his instructions, destroys their effect.—Or how shall the building advance, if while we raise it with one hand we throw it down with the other? What crooked rod ever gave a straight shadow? Let us be *unreproveable,* as the apostle's word is. The world has its eyes upon us, and nothing is so frequently in its mouth as the inquiry, Where are their works which should induce us to believe

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their life and conversation:

[1] Ezek. xiii. 3.

[2] Let it be observed how this holy man of God, even while he cherishes the most blessed hopes and the most cheering confidence, lays bare his bosom, so to speak, to those parts of the divine word which address the fears, the holy jealous fears of himself and his brethren, "Lest that by any means when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway."

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them? Though we do not preach ourselves but Christ, to whom all ought to have regard, yet the world regards *us*, watches *us*; and while it covers the *beams* of others, knows not how sufficiently to magnify even our *motes*. You see how many mass-priests live in luxury—are fornicators, gamesters, blasphemers, gluttons, yes, and usurers and soldiers too; while, if we offend only in a word, if we fail to observe human traditions, even such as are mischievous, if we yield to necessity, we are in danger of our lives. We have need therefore of prudence.—But who is prudent except he who walks in the fear of the Lord, which is *the beginning of wisdom?* Who proceeds successfully but he that patiently takes up his cross, and follows a Saviour who was full of charity, humility, and meekness. Let us but love Christ, and we shall love his humility, his patience, his charity. A blameless life carries its own reward along with it. Temperance prolongs life; uprightness provides the feast of a good conscience; glorifying God through Jesus Christ leads to eternal life. It were madness to abandon these blessings to turn back to darkness. We cannot deny that they who will live godly must encounter difficulties and persecutions: yet Christ has granted us many indulgences. He approves of virtuous marriage: and, though we are not to study the gratification of our appetites in meats and drinks, yet no superstitious abstinence from this or the other of them is enjoined. *Having food and raiment let us be therewith content.* Let our tongue be true in what it teaches, kind in administering consolation, grave in admonition, restrained alike from flattery and from detraction. If truth has possession of our hearts, our lips will easily be

restrained from uttering vanity. Let deceit be left to hypocrites, but let unaffected simplicity adorn and commend us, or rather I should say commend the word of God delivered by us; and what our words cannot effect let the piety of our lives accomplish.—The next thing will be, that with unfailing faithfulness and constancy we sound forth the gospel—*the mystery hidden from ages:* namely that by Jesus Christ the Son of God dying for us remission of sins has been procured for the world. Be this our wisdom, *to preach Christ crucified.* To this point let all our discourses tend; to set forth these riches and this glory of the love of God towards us. For what more could the Father of mercies do for us, than to give his only-begotten Son for our salvation? What has he not with him freely given us? What shall we not obtain through his Son? What forbearance and forgiveness will he not exercise towards us? With the net of this doctrine we shall become *fishers of men;* and draw them as willing servants to Christ: for the hearts of sinners, burdened with the chains of their sins, and harassed by cruel tyrants, gasp after peace and liberty. Thus shall we implant in them faith, which *worketh by love* to produce really good works. For we do not preach Christ as having *so* died for our sins, as to leave us at liberty to live in them; but on the contrary, as having so redeemed us that we should no more yield ourselves to bondage; but rather *die to sin,* and *putting on the new man* live not like the first Adam, who by his disobedience forfeited life and brought in death both to himself and to us, but like Christ, the second Adam, who by his obedience unto death restored us to life, and, becoming *the first-*

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their preaching.

The gospel,

and its effects.

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begotten from the dead, gave to us the assured hope of the resurrection, and of future glory and immortality. Hence comes that blessed liberty of spirit by which we recognise God as our Father, love him whom we thus recognise, confide in him whom we thus love, and call on him in whom we thus confide, boldly *crying*, *Abba, Father*.—Such is our case; since the First-born, by whom we live, is his Son, and our Brother, who having been given to us, there is nothing which we may not promise ourselves from his kindness and good will. Hell therefore is to us a vanquished enemy; death is abolished; the sting of the law is extracted. Heaven is our's; the earth is our's; and our's the very fulness of the heavens. It is no matter of wonder therefore if angels and ministering spirits serve us, though we be *the offscouring of this world—which is crucified to us and we to it*. Willingly shall we for a little space be deprived of carnal liberty, and enjoy the liberty of the Spirit: willingly shall we deny ourselves the indulgences of this life, knowing that the kingdom of God consists not in these external things—though we also know that, being *received with thanksgiving*, they are clean unto us: for we suffer not our consciences to be enthralled either to Mosaic or Pharisaic ordinances.—So great blessings does the gospel bring to us if it be received with a believing heart.—In the mean time the law of God, as explained by Christ himself, must be inculcated, in season and out of season, on the wicked. Whatever is contrary to Christ must be reproved and exposed. Christ is not hypocrisy, he is not falsehood, he is not hatred, he is not injustice: he is peace, truth, righteousness. Nothing is to be omitted which conduces to edification.

Preaching the law.

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We are not to flatter any one, nor accept any one's person: for the Lord is the object of our fear: not an arm of flesh, nor the bulls of the pope. Heaven and hell are not at the disposal of an earthly potentate: but Christ threatens the one to the negligent, and promises the other to the faithful.—But let us by all means beware of adulterating the word of God. Let us religiously abstain from adding to it or subtracting any thing from it. Let it be to us *a light in a dark place:* and according to it let us teach and judge. If difficulties occur, let us not deviate a hair's breadth from the rule of faith and charity—lest we make shipwreck. By this criterion let us receive or reject the traditions of men: for that which leads us away from faith or charity is justly distrusted; but where these remain untouched no danger exists, even though the genuine sense of scripture should not in every particular be rightly apprehended. On such points therefore let us not dispute and break charity; for that is the part of pride and arrogance. Where kindness may have place, let us not admit severity. Let our zeal burn, not when reproaches are cast upon *us*, but when truth is endangered, and the name of God blasphemed. If our enemies curse us, let us not imitate them; but comfort ourselves with the testimony of our conscience: and let the scriptures bear witness to the truth, and justify us by sanctioning our doctrines.—Let us be willing also to leave some things to the decision of the great day of the Lord. Let us not, brethren, faint under the calumnies cast upon us. If the Master of the house was charged with casting out devils by Beelzebub, what wonder if we his unworthy servants be not spared? *The disciple is not*

Charity.

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above his Lord. So far from fainting, the more vehemently Satan opposes, the more zealously let us strive against him."

Ceremonies.

He then proceeds to treat of ceremonies, (in which he could wish for uniformity, yet would have "no man forced to it by any legal enactment;") and on the opposition which they had to encounter from the anabaptists, the Lutherans, (on the sacrament,) and the papists. After which he thus concludes: "Surrounded therefore with so many enemies, let us remember to whom we bear testimony, and let us seek the truth above all things. Having put our hand to the plough, let us not look back, but persevere to the end. Let us cherish concord with the greatest care, and whatever pertains to charity. I could wish you frequently to meet together, and mutually to admonish one another. And here let brotherly reproof be received even with the sincerest gratitude; though I would have you study to live so blamelessly that no one of you may find any thing to censure in another. As however we are human beings, we shall stand in need of admonition. Sometimes we are too anxious about the things of this world: I wish I could say, not even covetous. Now we are lukewarm assertors of the cause of Christ: *I wish* we may not sometimes be found to desert it. Now we are more disposed to pamper the body than to feed the soul: now we are too little grave and circumspect in our discourse. And all these things dishonour the word of God, though we are backward to detect them in ourselves. Charity therefore will find its work to perform when you meet. Search the scriptures together; and let the more learned faithfully instruct those who are less informed; and these with

Mutual consultation and reproof.

equal readiness listen to instruction: for all have not equal measures of grace (or gifts).— If the Lord has granted to my colleagues and myself any spiritual endowments, and you consult us on any occasion, we shall afford you our assistance with the utmost cheerfulness; and we beseech you regard us as true brothers, praying for us, as we promise to do for you. For there is no one thing so necessary amidst the dangers, snares, plots, and persecutions, with which we are surrounded, as sincere prayer that God would *bruise Satan under our feet;* irradiate the whole world with the light of his truth; and himself reign gloriously for ever. Amen!"[1] A.D. 1531. Prayer.

Here indeed we have a specimen of genuine episcopacy, and the style of a true "Father in God," though without the name. May the great Head of the church grant unto all "Christian bishops" to administer their high functions in the spirit here exhibited!

16. It has been seen that, while the cause of the reformation was sinking in the canton of Soleure under the attacks of its avowed enemies, the ministers of that persuasion were quarrelling among themselves upon the question of the forms and ceremonies with which they should administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper; and that they thus contributed to hasten the fatal result.[2] The following is the letter which has been referred to as addressed by Œcolampadius to the parties concerned. 16. To the pastors of Soleure.

"To the brethren lately preaching the gospel in the canton of Soleure:"[1] dated, 3 March, 1531. "Health to you in Christ! As I have always avoided assuming authority, or even On discord

[1] Fo. 181—184. [2] Above, p. 97.

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among brethren in the church.

appearing to do so, over those who ought to enjoy their liberty, I have repeatedly been withheld from writing to you when I otherwise wished to do it. As often as I revolve in my mind the temptations and dangers with which you are assailed on every side, I feel urged to address you, if not personally by word of mouth, at least by letters, and to give you the assistance of any humble endowments which may have been conferred upon me. But I am still more strongly drawn back from attempting it, by the feeling that the duties of my own station are amply sufficient for me, and that, as is the lot of man upon earth, I cannot attain what I wish in the discharge of them. Charity however now prevails in this conflict of my mind, and the consciousness of good intention emboldens me. In the presence of God I can say, I desire not to be *burdensome* to any of you, but to serve you all. Though informed, then, of your numerous difficulties arising from the anabaptists, the papists, false brethren, or those whose courage has failed them in time of trial, I must confess that the most perplexing of all appears to me your being divided among yourselves, and *that* on a subject on which especially charity ought to be conspicuous. The report here is, that some of your own number object, *in limine*, to meet together and consult on the affairs of the church, and declare for themselves that they will not do it. Is not this of itself enough to subvert the church of Christ among you? Indeed why do I say to subvert it, when the foundations are not yet laid? But is it not enough to prevent the very commencement of the work? My dear friends, then, as many of you as desire to restore among you the church of Christ, purchased with his

own blood, in the first instance meet together, and with common zeal excite one another to such things as the glory of Christ may require. If there are those who repulsively stand aloof from you in these arduous and dangerous attempts, let them do so, as persons strangers to true charity. They are to be made little account of: they are of those who run without being sent: they will soon come to nothing; their folly will be manifest. Suffice it for you, if the good and sound among you meet together. Christ will not be found among those who preach the gospel for applause, and seek to please men. Such are not his servants: let them therefore go. Your affairs will succeed better in proportion to the purity of spirit which marks those who conduct them. The kingdom of God is not promoted by numbers, but by the piety and holiness of its members. Elijah stood alone: but what might not one (such man) effect? If they therefore refuse, let those come together who are actuated by a common spirit of charity and holy zeal.—I do not write this, however, as if all who do not join you were to be rashly treated with contempt: for they may be restrained by various causes.—Then, when you have met together, whether in greater or less numbers, in the first place all present must be exhorted to seek nothing else than simply the glory of Christ, and the advancement of his kingdom. If this spirit prevail, Christ will not fail to be among you.....That will then be no very great or difficult question, which yet, if neglected, may become dangerous. You will consider the ceremonies to be used in the Lord's supper; which you are backward to omit, and cannot omit without giving great offence. Some it

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On agreeing upon a ritual.

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seems follow the order of Zuric, some of Berne, and some that which we have adopted at Basle. We are here quite in harmony with Zuric and Berne, though we have a different ritual. When we began to reform the churches, we considered what might be most useful to a weak people—without injury to the truth; what the feeble-minded could bear. Our object was, that, though in these respects we might differ from Zuric or Strasburg, while we preserved charity towards strangers, we might maintain uniformity among ourselves, who were of the same state and under the same government. For the papists and other enemies of the truth we shewed no respect. Thanks be to God, the consequence is entire harmony among the (reformed) clergy of Basle. The same is the case at Zuric and Berne; no inconvenience follows from their little variations from us. Your case is at present different: but nothing can be more adviseable than that you should endeavour to agree upon a common formulary among yourselves. Some I know make light of Zwingle, and some of Œcolampadius; we however are, and always have been friends, and no one gratifies us who would sow discord in the house of God under pretence of honouring either of us. The state of your affairs does not admit of a diversity of rites, because other sects are rising up among you: so that, though a variation of ceremonies is of little account among truly spiritual persons, yet among those in whom charity is more defective, if new and singular observances are introduced instead of those which commend themselves to the majority, this must lead to contentions.... We have no wish to induce you to adopt our ceremonial, or that of Zuric, or that of Berne; but unifor-

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mity among yourselves is very important: and if this be in conformity with your neighbours it will tend the more to exclude ostentation and to silence enemies. Is there any religion in a gold or a wooden cup? or in the mystic bread being administered from silver or a glass dish? Has Christ any more regard for those who sit, than for those who stand or kneel? Does *he* obtain less who receives the sacrament from his own hand, than he who takes it from the hand of another person? Oh wretched beings that we are, that in calamitous times like these, when the light of the gospel hath so clearly shone upon us, we should be so in bondage to elements,[1] and forget how our liberty is to be used to the edification of our neighbour! Better would it be to want the supper altogether, than conceitedly to affect some singular rite, and on the ground of it to separate ourselves from communion with our brethren. If therefore the Lord grants you to come together, and to consider this question, in the first place endeavour, as one people, to be uniform among yourselves. In the next place, take special care that the sacraments fall not into contempt among you—which is a most serious evil. Never will unity be preserved, where the symbols of unity are despised.—Thirdly, adopt such a ceremonial as may most effectually set forth the passion of our Lord, and declare the glory of his death. If this is done, it will matter little whether you unite yourselves to us, or to Zuric, or to Berne. But, if you neglect concord at home, I see not how you are to preserve it toward those abroad.... I beseech you to receive favourably what has been written can-

[1] Gal. iv. 9.

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didly: and hold to that which may be for the glory of Christ, beneficial to yourselves, and conducive to charity. Farewell."[1]

17. To certain Christian brethren.

17. From an epistle without date, and without address except to certain "beloved brethren in Christ."

"Those who are spiritual are easily taught the things of Christ: they have a master within, the heavenly teacher. Hence a suggestion is to them a lesson. I think but few words necessary therefore in reply to the questions of

Merits.

our reverend father. In the first place, with respect to merits, the unction of the Holy One teaches the saints of God, after the example of Christ, to entertain no high thoughts concerning themselves; and when they rightly examine their works they always find some defect in their holy services: they might have been performed more purely, more ardently, more meekly. Such persons are always therefore vile in their own eyes, and, so far from thinking any thing due to their works, (as the Pharisees did,) they regard their faults and sins against God as grievous. They refer all glory therefore to Christ, whom they confess by his merits to have obtained of the Father the forgiveness of our sins, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and eternal life. They arrogate nothing to themselves which can prejudice his honour. Nevertheless they have this undoubted confidence in God, that, as he will punish the

Reward.

wicked for their evil deeds, so he will reward the faithful, who exercise themselves in good works, as if something were due to them; though scarcely could we expect him of his grace to pay us *the penny* with which we

[1] Epist. fo. 176-7.

were hired; so slothfully do we labour in his vineyard.[1] A. D. 1531.

18. To Erasmus (Ritter) of Schaffhausen,[2] without date. He describes his correspondent as having to labour "among briars and thorns," and exhorts and encourages him, in a brotherly manner, to persevering zeal and diligence: yet he would have him proceed "not more boldly than prudently, for we have long (he says,) been weary of those who ruin every thing by a rash boldness." "If there are those," he proceeds, "who make light of the word of the Lord, what then? still it is precious to them that are the Lord's, *who are born not of the flesh, nor of blood, but of God.* For their sakes we must not grow weary, though others may not only neglect but persecute us. Fidelity is as much owing to the Lord's flock when it is small and weak, as when it is ever so great. *He* was not excused, who buried his *one* talent. Think therefore thus with yourself: I ought not to be remiss because few receive Christ, but on that very ground to be the more vigilant, that my Lord's flock may be greatly increased.... Farewell in the Lord."[3]

18. To Ritter. Prudence. Want of success.

19. Another letter to an anonymous brother, dated at Basle, 19 August, but without the year, exhibits a beautiful specimen of the writer's spirit, and admirably illustrates the temper and conduct which become a Christian minister.

19. To a clergyman.

"Peace to you in Christ! My first inquiry of our common friend concerning you respected your meekness and gentleness—than which nothing is more becoming a Christian, and especially a Christian minister. He ex-

On invective preaching.

[1] Epist fo. 4.

[2] See vol. ii. 475, 577-8.

[3] Fo. 192-3.

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tolled your unwearied diligence, your burning zeal, and your good success on the whole: but he added, that you poured forth torrents of reproaches against the mass-priests. I am not ignorant what they deserve, and in what colours they may justly be painted: but allow me to say, in the character of one friend and brother addressing another, that you do not seem here fully to remember your proper calling. You are sent to preach the gospel, not to utter maledictions. Surgeons, it is true, apply the knife where gentler remedies fail: yet not where there is no hope of cure. Michael the archangel durst not bring railing accusation even against the devil. Your zeal seems to carry you into some forgetfulness of our common infirmity. All have not entered even into that corrupt priesthood with a malignant mind: but many through ignorance; many by the designation of their parents; many from want; many allured by the attractions of the office; many from superstition. They have not indeed entered *by the door*, but they have not (all) the temper and purpose of thieves and robbers.—It is true, you will not gain to Christ Ananias and Sapphira, who *resist the Holy Ghost:* leave *them* to themselves; but consider the infirmity of others. I am not satisfied with your shewing yourself kind to the friends of the truth: aim to win over its enemies. There is no creature so abject as not to be susceptible of irritation. Generous minds confine anger to just occasions. We know the vehemence of Elijah: but think in what times he lived: and it burst forth only on one or two occasions. Does it not appear to you to be carnal to spend a large proportion of life in giving vent to reproaches? .... Consider whether Christ would

Charity exemplified.

act thus; and do what Christ living in you would dictate. Learn from him mildness and humility. I excuse, nay I commend your zeal; only let it be tempered with meekness. If the wolves are driven away from the fold, let the sheep hear the voice of the shepherd and be fed. They are only alarmed, and are endangered rather than fed, while you pursue the wolves with imprecations. Refresh my spirit, my brother, by letting me hear that you seasonably pour in the oil and wine: that you act the evangelist and not the severe legislator.—You will allow this freedom of admonition to a mind which is full of affection for you, and implores that God would effect great things by you.....I should scarcely think it possible for you as yet to obtain the abolition of the mass. Guard against rash haste. *Except the Lord build the house, their labour is but lost that build it.* Aim to expel Antichrist from the *hearts* of men." [1] A. D. 1531.

20. The following letter to Leo Jude, in reply to an invitation conveyed through him to the writer, to become the successor of Zwingle at Zuric, must have been among the latest productions of Œcolampadius's pen, as it is dated the first of November, (1531,) and his death took place, after a severe illness, on the first of the following month. It still displays his excellent spirit, and strikingly shews his opinion of need- 20. To Leo Jude.

[1] Fo. 206. (b). It is customary to represent this letter as addressed to Farel, and it is so represented even by Melchior Adam in his brief Life of that reformer. But I know no authority for the representation; and it seems to me to be an improbable conjecture. Farel indeed was prone to err on the same side as the person here addressed: but there is no trace elsewhere of his having erred so far. Moreover all the other letters to Farel bear his name, and mark his abode. He is on no other occasion addressed anonymously.

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less removals and interested translations of the clergy.

His call to Zuric.

"Health to you in Christ! The proposal and request which you communicate to me in the name of your venerable college (or consistory) were most unexpected. But, though my love to your church is such that, if I were to change my situation, there is scarcely a place in the world where I would more willingly become not (as you propose,) pastor, but the humblest of its ministers; yet, as things are now situate with respect to myself and the church of Basle, I see not with what conscience I could for a moment entertain the thought of leaving this city. It is not only a long-established opinion, but a sentiment confirmed by the constitutions of the church, that little confidence is to be placed in those who desert their own charges, to preside over others. Such in fact are generally found unserviceable men. For what good man will not reason thus concerning them: 'If this man had been content with a moderate provision, and unambitious, he would not have forsaken his own flock. How shall he, who rashly relinquishes the care of his own household, administer well the affairs of another man's?' In a minister of God's word, much depends on his weight of character. An inconstant man will never firmly attach people to him; he is in danger of drawing ridicule upon himself, as one that sits down between two chairs. I cannot dissemble that there are many things in my own church which are painful to me: I know that I am obnoxious to many persons of consequence: I know how little success attends me among a great part of my people: but these things must be borne rather than violently thrown off. If on account of them I

On the removals of ministers.

quit my post, I shall, in the first place, have reason to fear the displeasure of God for refusing to bear the cross which he lays upon me; and, in the next place, I may expect to bring upon myself, instead of one light burden, many that may be much heavier. I have found this heretofore, and should most assuredly find it again if I were to comply with your solicitations.—Moreover a wise man will consider what he is equal to. I almost sink under my present charge: what folly then would it be to thrust myself into one of still greater responsibility! Perhaps indeed I should little offend against my own church, which might find a more competent pastor; but then I should injure your's, by undertaking the care of it without the requisite qualifications. Or grant that I should be found qualified, and thus not prejudice your church; then I should be criminal with regard to my own, to which I am already devoted, which has encountered dangers with me more than once, and on the whole has not proved ungrateful to me. God forbid that I should be the first party to incur the reproach of ingratitude. If indeed she should prove ungrateful and cast me off, then I must go where God may call me: but at present it is my duty to serve the city in which I am placed.—I return my best thanks to your whole ecclesiastical senate for its great kindness to me, in thinking me worthy of its general suffrage for the office of pastor. Such men could not have erred in their choice, had not their judgments been warped by the excess of kindness. I most humbly entreat them therefore to view favourably my declining the high honour they would confer upon me. But really if they would give me two thousand crowns A.D. 1531.

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(aureos) a year, my conscience would not suffer me to comply with their request: whereas, if it did not forbid me, I would come, and even sue for the situation, with the smallest stipend attached to it.—Collinus truly tells you that your habits and manners at Zuric would not be displeasing to me: but we must not always grasp at what pleases us. In all other things you shall find me faithfully devoted to your service. Christ is my witness how mindful I am of you night and day in the present emergency. I beseech him to send you a truly faithful and able pastor: and, if he sees that I should really be profitable among you, may he still drive me to you, as he drove Jonah and Paul[1] to the work to which they were reluctant."[2]

Such was the correspondence of the holy and learned Œcolampadius with a numerous circle of friends, and with various churches and individuals, who were happy to avail themselves of his "meekness of wisdom," to counsel and comfort them under their difficulties.—Of any peculiar opinions held by him, or even of his sentiments on doctrines which have in almost all ages been the subject of differences among wise and good men, I have really no sample to offer. I do not remember to have met with any thing of the kind in such of his writings as I have examined. With the exception of the eucharistic controversy, and in some degree of the errors of the anabaptists, his time seems to have been wholly employed upon that which directly tended to edification, and which was grounded on the catholic doctrine of the true

[1] Acts xxii. 18—21.

[2] Epist. fo. 212 (b).

church in all ages. I subjoin only two short specimens of his sentiments on questions which have, at different periods, excited some discussion. A. D. 1531.

21. Writing to Haller, 16 January, 1530, a statement and vindication of the proceedings at the conference of Marpurg, he says: 21. To Haller.

"I would not deny that the water of baptism is a regenerating water, for (through it) *he becomes the child of the church, who was before not acknowledged by the church.*"[1] And again: "A peaceably disposed person, who apprehends the nature (rationem) of sacraments, easily understands how a child is received to the grace of God by baptism.....By this symbol the persons present are taught that the child belongs to God's grace,"[2] to "the church" which enjoys his grace and favour, as contradistinguished to the rest of the world.—To such a statement of baptismal regeneration few or none among well informed persons would have been found to object: and, had all who have undertaken to discuss this disputed subject treated it in the spirit of Œcolampadius, the means would easily have been discovered of bringing the different parties much more nearly to accordance upon it. It has been the making, or speaking as if it were intended to make, the regeneration of baptism a substitute for all vital and spiritual religion, and then charging with "heresy," and with "doing despite to the Spirit of grace," those who could not acquiesce in such views, that has tended to set the church in a flame, and to preclude many persons, per- Baptismal Regeneration.

[1] "Ipse non negarim aquam baptismi esse aquam regenerantem: fit enim puer ecclesiæ, qui dudum ab ecclesiâ non agnoscebatur."

[2] "Puerum ad gratiam Dei pertinere." Epist. fo. 24, 25.

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haps, from ever coming rightly to understand one another.

22. To Vinerius.

22. The other subject on which I present a short additional extract is that of usury—on which the reformers did not always treat in the most discreet manner.[1]

On usury.

"It does not belong to every one," he writes to Otto Vinerius of Mulhausen, (3 March, 1531,) "to judge concerning usury: but I will say much in a few words. What constitutes an usurer in the sight of God is, a grasping mind, void of mercy and pity, distrustful of God, covetous. Before men, that which constitutes an usurer is, an unjust contract, made to the prejudice of a neighbour. If these two rules are just, as they assuredly are, we shall define many things differently from what is generally done. Many emoluments are most justly received, but there are many which no laws can render honest."[2]

Works of Zwingle.

I shall now conclude this chapter, and close my account of the two great Swiss reformers who have engaged so much of our attention, with the notice of three works of Zwingle[3]—his Commentary of true and false Religion, his short Introduction to the Evangelical Doctrine, written for the pastors of the canton of Zuric, and his tract on the Providence of God. I select the first as his principal work, at least, of a more general kind; the second as exhibit-

[1] See Vol. i. 331. [2] Epist. fo. 22. (b).

[3] The published works of Zwingle are collected in four folio volumes, printed at Zuric, 1544-5, and again 1581. The two former volumes comprise his Theological and Controversial Treatises: the two latter consist of Expositions of various books of Scripture. The whole were composed, amidst unnumbered avocations, between the years 1519 and 1531.

A. D. 1531.

ing, perhaps, the most pleasing and edifying specimen of his theology; and the third as further illustrating his sentiments on certain high and difficult points.

I. "On true and false Religion."

I. The "Commentary of true and false Religion"[1] has been already mentioned, at the period of its publication in the year 1525, and a short character of it given from Dr. Milner.[2] In examining it for myself I confess I have felt some disappointment, at finding so great a proportion of the work employed on those controversies of the times which have ceased to be generally interesting. This circumstance will abridge the labour and space to be occupied by our account of the book; which will however furnish us with some very important and interesting passages.

Dedication to Francis I.

As has been before stated, it is dedicated to Francis I. king of France: and in the dedication the author animadverts with great freedom and spirit upon the vices of the times, and of all classes of persons—the pope (who had "usurped God's place, and received more than divine honours,") and the clergy, the princes, the monks, the people. The princes were guilty of tyranny and rapacity: the profligacy of the monks was unexampled—so that it was a perfect infatuation in princes to suffer the establishment of monasteries, which were worse than the castles of freebooters, within their territories: the people were sunk in ignorance and superstition, and were fleeced and oppressed alike by their temporal and their spiritual superiors. A remedy therefore for such evils was loudly called for; and it was to be found alone in the faithful and unrestrained promulgation of God's word. It would most highly become, therefore,

[1] Opera, (edit. 1581,) ii. fo. 158—242. [2] Vol. ii. 512-3.

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the great monarch addressed unreservedly to countenance this object. He had indeed about him the doctors of the Sorbonne, who advanced high pretensions, but were in reality profoundly ignorant, and devoted to reigning error: but he had likewise within his kingdom men of another stamp—skilled in divine knowledge, and distinguished for simplicity of manners and sanctity of life. These it behoved the king, not indeed (with a few exceptions,) to collect about his royal person, but to despatch into all parts of his dominions, commissioned to instruct his subjects in the knowledge of God's word, and in the practice of all righteousness. This would be for the lasting good of his kingdom, and for the establishment of his government in true honour and vigour.

In a notice to the reader Zwingle apologises for his work, which had been composed amid a hurry of engagements, by nightly as well as daily toil, in the course of a quarter of a year. He gave it therefore the name of a "Commentary," which implied a composition nearly as familiar as a common letter.—A table of the topics to be treated of then follows, among which our extracts, or rather in some instances *abstracts*, will be chiefly taken from the articles—God, Man, Religion, the Gospel, and Deliverance from the Law.

1. The knowledge of God.

1. Religion, he observes, implies the knowledge of God and the knowledge of man. Of the *knowledge of God* he treats in that elevated style which might be expected from his pious and richly furnished mind. 'This knowledge can be derived, he says, only from God himself: 'and faith in the breasts of those to whom revelation is vouchsafed must be his gift. "Believers are not *therefore* believers, because

they hear Moses, for instance, pronounce, *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth*; but because they are taught this truth by God himself, through the medium of his word. Of him only it comes that we both really believe his existence and trust in him."[1] —He strikingly illustrates the divine name, "I am that I am," or, as the Septuagint renders it, "I am he that existeth:" considering it as implying, not only the self-existence of God, but that he is "the source, the support, and we might say the essence of all being."[2]—On the doctrine of providence, he here says, "depends the whole question of predestination, free-will, and merit."[3] A. D. 1531.

On God's "dwelling" amongst us.

We conclude this topic with the following passage on God's "dwelling in the midst" of his people, as he declared that he did with Israel. "What else is it for God to dwell in the midst of his people, but for him to be so present with them as to be ever at hand to help them? The expression is most familiar and condescending: it represents the Most High as making himself almost one of their number; so that none of them need fear being looked down upon as disregarded by him. What other testimonies should I adduce from the New Testament in proof of his so dwelling with us, than HIM who is himself the Testament, the Covenant, even Jesus Christ, at once the Son of God and the son of the Virgin? By him, when we were *by nature the children of wrath*, God, the rich fountain of mercy, restored us to his favour. Him he hath constituted our propitiator, that they who trust in his blood may be reputed holy and without

[1] Zuing. Op. i. fo. 162-3. [2] Fo. 163. [3] Fo. 165.

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spot in his sight. *He* then is our propitiation, and consequently our covenant which God hath ratified with us. By him we have unrestrained access to God.—Moreover whatever Christ is to us he is by the *free gift* of God. We have never merited that God should sacrifice his Son for our life. Had it been possible that life should have been granted to our merits, Christ would have been superfluous to us: and, had there been no need of him, would the Father ever have given him to take our flesh? Oh this is no superfluous, no vain, no unnecessary work of God: but the Son of God came *that we might have life, and might have it most abundantly*. Thus Christ, that he might exhibit his whole self to us, cries, *Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy-laden, and I will give you rest.* Gracious God! what is liberality, what is bounty, if this is not? Evils of every kind, internal and external beset us [1] on every side, so that they must otherwise overwhelm us. The Son of God sees our calamitous state, and calls us all unto himself. And, that no one's consciousness of guilt may deter him from coming without delay, he says expressly ALL, and *ye that labour*, and *ye that are heavy-laden;* for he came for this very purpose, *to save sinners*, and that *freely*. [2]

2. The knowledge of man.

2. *Of Man.*—"To attain the knowledge of man is as difficult (according to a proverbial saying,) as to take the cuttle-fish. For, as that animal is said effectually to conceal itself from its pursuers by a black fluid which it sheds around it, so man, as soon he perceives his own character to be the subject of investigation, shrouds himself in such thick clouds of hypo-

[1] "Scatemus:" spring, *bubble up* within and around us.

[2] Fo. 165-6.

crisy that it is impossible for a created eye to detect him. And so the prophet affirms: *The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked, who can know it?* For instance, if you assert that the prophet in this passage declares the heart of man to be depraved, that heart immediately devises the evasions, that *depraved* here means only *propense* to depravity, and that the declaration does not apply *to all:* meaning, when it thinks these positions once established, to assume that it is itself free from depravity, and to prove it from the honest constancy it has shewn in the defence of injured human nature! Indeed the resources of self-love are so inexhaustible that few, or rather none, can arrive at a full knowledge of themselves. God therefore alone, who made man, can give the right knowledge of man." [1] A. D. 1531.

The fall, and human depravity.

He then states, with entire simplicity, the history of the fall. The death which Adam immediately incurred was, he says, "that of the soul," a moral death, "sin," or a state of sin, depravity, bringing on, in time, his temporal death. Inordinate self-love, independence of God, setting up for himself, aiming to live to and for himself, and according to his own will alone—these, he says, are the essence of the fall of man, and the death which he at once incurred.—"But let us hear," he proceeds, "the testimonies of scripture. *My Spirit shall not always dwell* [2] *with man, for that he also is flesh.* God here casts off man as degenerate—because he is become altogether flesh. He had testified the same before, when he rejected him as a spurious offspring, excluding him from the garden of Eden. But, if man is become alto-

[1] Fo. 166 (b). [2] "Permanebit."

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gether flesh, what else does he mind than carnal things? And, if so, what is he but the enemy of God? (Romans viii. 6, 7):.... Again. *Every imagination of his heart is only evil continually.* Here it is affirmed that every human thought is not only propense to evil, but intent and fixed upon it, and that at all times."—He then adduces other scriptural testimonies: after which he proceeds: "Adam then being dead (in sin), they who spring from him must be the same. He could never propagate an offspring free from that death which he had himself suffered: for it is unchangeably true, that *that which is born of the flesh is flesh.* And *flesh* here means, not the body as distinguished from the mind, but the whole man, composed of both body and soul.... If we will believe Him from whom no secrets are hid, we shall clearly perceive that man, however he may strive to conceal it, or may fight against the humbling truth, is by nature evil..... But, as we before said that faith alone could bring us the knowledge of God, so here, without that faith which believeth every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God, man will be as far removed from the knowledge of himself as the flesh is from the spirit.....False theologues, satisfying themselves with allowing that man is *prone* to evil, yet attribute to him a sound power of discriminating good and evil, and of freely applying himself to either the one or the other of them: but this is only to twist a rope of sand, or to convert Belial into an angel. But, as nothing can form sand into a rope, so Belial, and so man cannot be made an angel of light; he, who is darkness, and the author of lies, deceit, and sin."

Self-seeking.

He then cites, in illustration of his doctrine,

a passage of Cicero for the poet Archias, in which the orator traces all the exertions of great and generous minds to "the love of glory"—though he would elsewhere, inconsistently with this, refer them to zeal for the public good. But this active and ever-present principle of self-exaltation Zwingle finds to be no other than that which he had laid down as the very essence of the fall, and what "the faithful (or believers) know to be nothing but death and sin and misery." And all this he expressly applies to the love of glory when directed to objects honourable in themselves, and not only when it shews itself in what would be pronounced a perverted and bad ambition.—When men deny that this corrupt principle pervades their minds—even the minds of the most elevated, ("for many are the slaves of lower and baser lusts,") we may know, he says, "that they are yet carnal and under the dominion of sin. For as long as we vindicate ourselves it is certain that we lack the light of the Spirit, which detects and exposes a man to himself.....It remains fixed and certain therefore, that all the counsels of man, as far as he is left to himself are sin: for he refers every thing to himself." And this position our author finely and acutely illustrates: not scrupling to add, "Even in writing upon these humbling and sacred subjects, the desire of vain glory insinuates itself." Whenever men have "written with a pure design, it has proceeded from God and not from themselves."[1] A.D. 1531.

Surely then, as far as Zwingle's great work *De verâ et falsâ Religione* is concerned, we must acquit him of having delivered a slight and diluted doctrine concerning the fall and Zwingle's doctrine of original sin.

[1] Fo. 166—169.

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depravity of man: and, if the statements of this work were, as seems commonly to be supposed, those for which he had to defend himself in his Declaration to Urban Regius, (of which we have already given a report,[1]) we must not only agree with Ruchat,[2] that he was on the whole "wronged" upon the subject, but that he was needlessly put upon his defence. But in fact it appears from the exordium of the "Declaration" itself, that the statements for which he had to apologise were contained in his treatise de Baptismo,[3] published some months

[1] Above, p. 142, &c.

[2] Above, vol. ii. 513. Has not Dr. Milner in some degree "wronged" Zwingle by quoting such a passage, or rather giving such an *abstract* on this subject, as he has done, vol. v. 523, (1123-4,) without any of the explanations and counterbalancing admissions with which Zwingle has elsewhere, and even in the continuation of the passage itself, checked his statements? At the same time that he has said, "Original sin is not properly sin," he has added "in the sense of an ACT of disobedience and rebellion against the law:" "quatenus scilicet peccatum, scelus, crimen, facinus, aut reatus est.....Non enim est *facinus contra legem*." This is very much reducing the question, as has been before stated, to a mere dispute—an unwise and hurtful one indeed, but yet a mere dispute—about a word. And he yet further subjoins the following admission of all that is essential in the question: "Although I readily admit that this *disease* and *condition* is in S. Paul's language styled *sin; nay that it is such a sin that they who are born in it are enemies and adversaries to God.*" Opera, ii. 539 (b). Indeed I cannot but think that Dr. M's remarks on Zwingle in general bear too hard upon him. It was not unnatural that they should do so. He was engrossed with another, a favourite, and we will admit a still greater character. His notices of Zwingle are but incidental: he had not been called fully to investigate his history: and circumstances led him to advert more to what was exceptionable, than to what was to be commended in his character and sentiments. See above, vol. ii. 433-4.

[3] Opera, ii. fo. 89. The *De Baptismo* is dated May, 1525: the *De verâ et falsâ Religione*, August, 1525: the *Declaratio ad Urb. Reg.* not till August, 1526.

before the work now under our consideration; which statements were more unguarded and exceptionable than any thing in the Declaration, much more, therefore, than any thing in the present treatise. A.D. 1531.

3. In speaking of *Religion* generally, (for he afterwards considers the Christian Religion in particular,) he recurs again to the case of fallen Adam, and thus vividly illustrates from it the rise of genuine religion, or piety, in the heart of man. "Had Adam felt that he had any thing remaining after his fall which might gain the favour of his Maker, he would not have fled to hide himself: but his case appeared to himself so desperate that we do not read even of his having recourse to supplications. He dared not at all appear before God. But here the mercy and kindness of the Most High are displayed, who recalls the fugitive even when, with a traitor's mind, he is passing over to the camp of the enemy, and not even offering a prayer for pardon; receives him to his mercy, and, as far as his justice would permit, restores him to a happy state. Here the Almighty exhibited a splendid example of what he would do for the whole race of Adam; sparing him, and treating him with kindness, even when he deserved only punishment." 3. Religion: its rise in the mind.

"Here then religion took its rise, when God recalled despairing fugitive man to himself: like a kind father who hates indeed his son's folly and wickedness, but cannot hate the son himself; but tenderly calls him to him, and bids him consider in what a situation he stands. *Adam, where art thou?* Oh unutterable mercy of our heavenly Father. *He* inquires where he is, without whom, as placing all things in the situations which they must respectively

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occupy, none of them could at all exist. He demands, *Where art thou?* not that he may be himself informed, but to make blind ignorant man sensible of his unhappy condition, and to convince him of his guilt. . . . .This is the very cradle of religion, of *piety*—a word, we may observe, applied as well between parents and their children as between God and man. See then the piety of the Father towards his impious child: he runs to him; he stops him in the midst of his rash and wayward purposes.—So also to this very day the beginning of piety is on God's part: and all for *our* benefit: for he can receive nothing from us. But this piety on God's part is then made perfect, (or attains its end,) when we are turned to Him who calleth us off from our own infatuated counsels.—Unhappy indeed is that earthly parent that pursues, with unwearied kindness, a son who as perseveringly rejects his calls: but this can never happen where Almighty God is concerned: for whom he calls he compels[1] to answer, whether he will or not. This is proved in the instances of Adam the prevaricator, David the adulterer and murderer, and Paul the persecutor.—Such then is the origin and nature of religion. God exposes a man to himself; shews him his disobedience, treachery, misery; so that he may quite despair of himself. But he at the same time discloses to him the amplitude of his own mercy and kindness—such that he who had just despaired of himself sees that there remains for him, in the bosom of his Creator and Father, such grace, so sure, so ready, so all-sufficient, that he can never be separated from Him on whose grace he relies.

[1] Rather, *inclines*.

A. D. 1531.

And this *adherence of the heart,* by which a man relies without wavering on God as the only good—who alone can soothe his sorrows, alone avert from him all evils or turn them to his good—and thus regards him as a father; this is piety; this is religion. For they who thus regard God as a father will constantly and anxiously study to please him, and to do his will.....And so full is the testimony of holy scripture to the purport of all which we have now taught, that the whole doctrine of both the Old Testament and the New, and the burden of the song of all the saints of God, is nothing else than this—that we are destitute of every thing—that God possesses all things—and that he will deny us nothing."[1]

In the midst of this noble and affecting passage, our author throws in the following sentences: "And here I would ask a certain class of theologians, and leave the question for their consideration, Do they think that Adam would ever of himself have returned to seek mercy? Is there any appearance, any likelihood of it? Why then will they not acknowledge that *it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy?*—for *no man can come to Christ except the Father draw him.* ....Let God only leave Adam, and Adam, having once fled from him, will never return: let him but leave man, and man will never seek Him that made him.....We make these observations to shew how far man departs from God, unless God interposes to arrest his flight: and also for the purpose of demonstrating how far those divines err from the right path, who discourse of faith as acquired by man,[2] and

[1] Fo. 169, 170.

[2] De fide acquisitâ.

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of free-will, even more frigidly than the very heathens do."

4. Christianity.

4. In speaking more particularly of *the Christian religion*, he strikingly lays open the spirituality of the divine law, and the insufficiency of all human righteousness:[1] and then, proceeding to "more joyful subjects, the glad tidings of the gospel, by which God not only announced but brought salvation" to a lost world, he thus piously introduces the discussion of it. "As this mystery is to be approached with the profoundest humility, and treated even with trembling reverence, it behoves us first of all to fall down before the Fountain of grace, imploring him so to enlighten our minds and guide our discourse, that we may say nothing unworthy of him. And, since the mind, in matters of faith cannot be wrought upon by human language, however well chosen, unless the Lord so teach and draw the heart that it may willingly follow, we must no less beseech him who justifies the sinner, and *calls those things which are not as though they were*, to enlighten the minds of those to whom we would communicate the gospel, that they may understand it, and so to allure and soften their hearts that they may obey it. For he denies nothing to our fervent prayers; and, on the other hand, there is nothing which we should presume to take in hand without such earnest addresses to him. May He therefore put a right word into our mouth!"[2]

Under this head of "the Gospel," however, our author is rather employed in *arguing* from scripture the doctrines of redemption by Christ and justification by faith, than in making such impressive exhibitions of them as would here

[1] Fo. 173, 174. [2] Fo. 174.

be interesting to the reader: on which ground we abstain from quotations. A. D. 1531.

5. *Deliverance from the law.* "We are not in such a sense delivered from the (moral) law as not to be bound to obey it; for it is the eternal and immutable will of God: not a tittle shall ever pass from it. The rules, *Thou shalt love thy neighbonr as thyself, Thou shalt not kill, steal,* or *swear falsely,* can never be abrogated:" but we are delivered, 1. by God's infusing the love of himself and of holiness into our hearts, which leads us to obey, not by constraint but willingly—and *love is the fulfilling of the law:* and, 2. by the law's no longer having the power to condemn the believer in Christ.[1] 5. Deliverance from he law.

This brings him to the question, How is it that the sins of believers do not condemn them? And he answers it by an extended paraphrase on those parts of the seventh and eighth chapters of the epistle to the Romans, which relate to "the conflict of the flesh and the spirit"—a conflict which he considers as taking place in the truly Christian man.[2] He speaks like one Rom. vii.

[1] Fo. 182-3.

[2] Fo. 183—186. It is to be regretted that those who have strongly taken opposite sides of the question, respecting this important passage of scripture, should "so often have overlooked the obvious fact, that, according to the *general* view which they take of the meaning and application of the whole, will be the interpretation which they respectively put on *particular* phrases or sentences. He, who understands the passage at large to describe the experience of the true and even advanced Christian, qualifies his exposition of the clauses "carnal, sold under sin"—"the good that I would I do not; but the evil which I would not that do I," &c. so as to render them compatible with that interpretation. He, on the other hand, who reduces the passage to little more than a description of the protests of conscience against prevailing depraved inclination, must at least equally lower

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well acquainted with this conflict, and often hard pressed in the "strife against sin," and "abhorring himself, repenting in dust and ashes." With a glow of lively feeling he illustrates the thanksgiving for deliverance through Christ, which affords delightful relief from time to time, but is still followed, so long as we continue here, by fresh conflicts, for which we must stand prepared.[1] "The flesh, in which dwelleth no good thing," he again asserts, means *the whole* (natural) man, with all his powers.—By "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus," (Romans viii. 2,) he understands not so much the gospel, as "the life-giving Spirit of Christ" dwelling in us. God's condemning sin *in the flesh* (ver. 3.) he explains of Christ's taking upon him our "flesh," or human nature, ("in all respects like our's, except its disease or depravity,") and in that nature bearing the penalty of sin for us. "The righteousness of the law is fulfilled in us" through Christ, (ver. 4,) he says, "for whatever he did or suffered was for us, and his righteousness is our's,[2] if only we *walk not after the flesh but after the spirit*."[3] He pro-

down the meaning of the sentences, "I delight in the law of God after the inner man"—"the evil which I *would not* that do I"—"now then it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me," &c. to make them at all agree with such an interpretation. Let each party apply to the other's *general interpretation* his own exposition of *particular parts*, and he will find it easy to fix upon his opponent charges of absurdity and even impiety, which by no means really belong to him.—I confess I have seen no satisfactory attempt to explain how the acquittal from guilt, or at least from condemnation, which seems to be implied in verses 17 and 20, can belong to any but a true believer in Christ.

[1] Fo. 184 (b).

[2] Our Homilies put the same construction on this passage.

[3] Fo. 185.

tests strongly against such as denied that Christ had "taken away," that is, atoned for, "the sins of ALL men." These, it would appear, were at that day only such as confined the effect of Christ's sacrifice to the removal of "original sin," and left each man to satisfy for his own actual offences.[1] A. D. 1531.

6. The power of "the keys" he discusses at much length, minutely examining all the passages of scripture which bear upon the subject.[2] The keys, he says, are "nothing but *the gospel itself*," which liberates from condemnation or the contrary, according as men believe or continue unbelievers. The keys, he contends, were not given when Christ said to S. Peter, (Matthew xvi. 19,) "I WILL give" them to thee, but when he said to all the apostles, (Mark xvi. 15, 16,) "Preach the gospel to every creature; he that believeth," &c.: or again, (John xx. 21—23,) "As my Father hath sent me, so send I you—Receive ye the Holy Ghost—Whosesoever sins ye remit, &c." He disapproves of understanding the keys to refer to excommunication or absolution by the church, which can apply only to the case of comparatively a few individuals.[3] 6. Power of the keys.

7. On the *sacraments* he certainly here teaches an extremely low doctrine; making them, it would seem, to be *only* signs by which the receiver gives "to the church" a pledge of his faith.[4] Surely they are "a pledge" given *to* him, as well as *by* him, and to those who "rightly receive" them "*a means*" also through which grace is communicated from God. 7. The sacraments.

8. His doctrine concerning providence, pre-

[1] Fo. 187. [2] Fo. 187—192.
[3] Fo. 190. [4] Fo. 198.

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destination, and free-will, shall be noticed in considering his treatise "of Providence."

II. His "Introduction to the Evangelical Doctrine."

II. The occasion of Zwingle's "Short Introduction to the Evangelical Doctrine, designed for the use of the Pastors,"[1] with its circulation, under the authority of the council, among the clergy of the canton of Zuric, has already been mentioned.[2] The intention of here giving some further account of this pious and excellent little work was at the same time expressed: but our notice of it will be abbreviated by the report just made of his treatise of Religion; as the same sentiments pervade both the publications.

1. Prayer.

1. The opening is devout and very important. "In the first place, as no one can fail to observe that all the controversies which at this day prevail in every part of the church have originated in the ignorance and blindness of one set of men or another; and as it at the same time certainly appears that all external instruction is vain and inefficient, unless a divine power enlighten and draw the minds of men; it is the duty of every true Christian, both publicly and privately, with the most earnest supplications to implore of Almighty God to command the light of his word to shine out of darkness, and to give unto us miserable creatures, buried in the deep night of ignorance, rightly to know and unfeignedly to love Him; and, moved by the love of Him, so to direct our whole lives as shall be pleasing in his sight, that we may at length enjoy him in his heavenly kingdom for ever.—Nor will he deny us what we thus ask."

2. Repentance.

2. Next with regard to doctrine: "Our

[1] Opera, i. fo. 264—278. [2] Vol. ii. 475.

beginning," he says, "must be the same as our Divine Master's was—*Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.* We must cry and thunder in the ears of a guilty world as he did, and as John did, who thus *prepared the way of the Lord*.... But, that every man may know the grounds on which repentance is necessary, and may have conviction brought home to his own breast, we must lay open the nature and source of sin." And this leads him to treat of the fall of Adam, and the depravity of all his posterity, in consequence of which they "can work no good thing" of themselves —so morally "diseased and corrupted are they become." Of this topic he speaks largely in the same way that we have before heard him doing. "This," he concludes, "is original sin:" and "our own experience" may teach us that such is our case: the proof of which he pursues by appealing to the pride, selfishness, and other evil affections of which, if we at all know ourselves, we cannot but be sensible.[1] A. D. 1531.

3. He then comes to the law of God; the "final cause," the great design, of which, as given to sinners, is to bring them to "the knowledge" and conviction of sin. "It cannot render man righteous and pious:" it "only shews him what he ought to be." "We must all therefore despair of our own righteousness."[2] 3. The law.

4. This introduces "the gospel"—in which "the grace of the Father is displayed to us through his only-begotten Son," who hath "obtained eternal felicity for all men; for as all were created by him, so are all redeemed by him."[3] "Whoever therefore receives this 4. The gospel.

[1] Fo. 265, 266. [2] Fo. 266-7.

[3] We shall find that Calvin in like manner considers the death of Christ as a sacrifice for all men. Nor do I remem-

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mystery of salvation with a true faith, resting

ber to have seen it differently represented among the reformers. I believe the statements, that he died only for the elect, and that his blood was so far 'shed in vain,' if in any sense he suffered for those who are not finally saved by him, to be of later date, as well as arising out of erroneous views of the subject. But here, as is so commonly the case, a little mutual and candid explanation might probably bring contending parties nearer together than they imagine.—1. When we speak of Christ as having 'redeemed all mankind,' we do not mean by redemption actual *deliverance*, but only the provision which has been made for all who should be induced to avail themselves of it, even though they were the whole world. So the word is used Rom. iii. 24: 'Justified *through the redemption*,' &c.—2. Neither here, nor when we speak of Christ's 'dying for all,' do we mean to deny a particular *intention* respecting those who should enjoy the ultimate benefit of his death: which intention may be referred to in such passages as John x. 15, Gal. ii. 20.—3. But we do mean to reject that view of the sacrifice of Christ, which would make him to have suffered just so much for each one that is to be saved by him; so that if more or fewer had been to be saved he must have shed accordingly more or fewer 'drops of his precious blood'—have suffered more or less severe 'dying pangs.' We consider this as a lowering degrading representation of the greatest and most sacred of all subjects; proceeding upon erroneous views; and irreconcileable with half the language of scripture. It leaves a great proportion of mankind for whom no provision is made; to whom it could not be said, "Come, for all things are ready;" and for whom, even if their unwillingness were removed, and they actually came to Christ, there could be no salvation, because there was no redemption. Such a sentiment must infallibly cramp those who adopt it, and restrain them from the free use of scriptural language: as it actually does prevent many from copying those invitations to all, "both bad and good," with which scripture every where abounds. They cannot "speak as the oracles of God" do.—It proceeds also upon the notion of the atonement being to be regarded in the light of a pecuniary rather than a moral compensation. Hence they argue, 'If the debt of all is paid, all alike have a right to their release.' But, though in a certain sense and for certain purposes our sins may be considered as 'debts,' and the death of Christ as 'the payment' of our debt; yet this, like all other illustrations will not hold beyond a given point: and, carried too

with an unwavering (or undivided) mind on the most precious merit of Christ's death and A. D. 1531.

far, it has afforded, as the ablest and soundest writers have shewn, great advantage to adversaries of the doctrine of atonement.

But, laying aside for the present all figures, and taking what I trust we shall all acknowledge to be the true view of that great doctrine, let us see whether such a view does not make the supposed difficulties of the case to vanish, or reduce them to little more than a shadow.—The obstacles to human salvation are mainly of two classes: 1. Those which arise from the holiness and justice of the Divine Being, and what the honour of his perfectly righteous law and government requires: and, 2. Those which exist within man himself, and are furnished by his depravity, his perverse unwillingness, and continued rebellion against God. The removal of the former class of obstacles was the work of 'God the Son, our Redeemer:' that of the latter is the work of 'God the Holy Ghost, our Sanctifier.' The former is so utterly and for ever removed out of the way by the 'full, perfect, and all-sufficient, atonement of Christ, and the exercise of mercy so entirely reconciled with the honour of the divine justice and holiness; that, if all mankind should come to God through this medium, no obstruction would any longer exist to the salvation of them all. Ten, or ten millions, or all the world, here makes no difference. Hence all the unfettered language of scripture, which neither needs nor will admit (unless by means which would justify the greatest heretic in his errors,) any limitation: "He is the propitiation for our sins, and *not for ours only*, but for the sins of THE WHOLE WORLD:" He "gave himself a ransom FOR ALL:" "That he by the grace of God should taste death FOR EVERY MAN." And hence again, the unlimited invitation, "Whosoever will, let him come." Hence also the Apostle does not scruple to speak of those "perishing for whom Christ died."—But the second class of obstacles still stands in the way: and these, according to our views at least, God removes where and when he pleases—"working in men to will and to do, of his good plessure"—"opening their hearts"—making whom he chooses "willing" and leaving others to their own unwillingness. Here and here only, the limitation is placed by our church, (see Catechism on the Creed,) I believe by the reformers generally, and by Calvin among them; and that, I conceive, in strict conformity with scripture, and to the reconciliation of its otherwise appa-

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passion, is made partaker of eternal life and true blessedness."[1]

Objections: (1.) Licentiousness:

He then answers the objection, that this doctrine supersedes the necessity of good works, and opens the door to licentiousness. "Whoever," he says, "babbles in this way can never yet have tasted that the Lord is gracious, or known that heavenly gift by which we are rendered partakers of the Holy Ghost." And he beautifully dilates on this theme, of the spirit of filial love, duty, and obedience which the experience of the grace of the gospel, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, will generate.[2]

(2.) Despair.

He equally well meets the objection, that our daily infirmities and sins must drive us to despair, if we can find in ourselves no merit to counterbalance them. He illustrates the case by the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican. "As often as the remembrance of the Christian's sins presses upon his mind he exclaims, '*Be merciful (be propitiated) to me, a sinner!* O Lord, I am overwhelmed with my sins: my iniquities and the pollutions of my life are all in thy sight: but to thee, O most merciful Father, I fly, on whose grace alone I rely with a firm faith.'—And this exercise of faith, by which we ever have recourse to the mercy of God as our only refuge, has more efficacy to prevent our being overpowered by the tyranny of our sins, than all other guards and provisions whatever."[3]

rently conflicting passages.—In speaking *thus* of the death of Christ, we intrude not into God's unrevealed *intentions*, as to who shall ultimately reap the benefit of it: there is too strong a propensity in many to do that: but we would content ourselves with those representations which it hath pleased him to make to us, and to make "that we might be saved."

[1] Fo. 267-8. [2] Fo. 268-9. [3] Fo. 269-70.

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Christ all in all.

And here he strikingly sets forth how Christ is made to us "all and every thing"—our "wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption." "*How shall not God with him freely give us all things?* Let no simple soul therefore here surmise, that he is insufficient and unfit to hold communion with a high and holy God: for it amply suffices for us to testify our faith to God the Father through his Son Jesus Christ, who *ever liveth to make intercession for us.* He is himself the Wisdom of the Father: and, as made wholly our's, he is *our wisdom* also. We are guilty, unrighteous, laden with sin: but he is righteous and perfect; and he has expiated our sins," and is made our *righteousness.* "We are sinful and unholy, but he is pure and is made our's"—our *sanctification.* "We are sold under sin, but he is our *redemption.*" And this leads to a touching expostulation with those who virtually forsook Christ to have recourse to other mediators or intercessors. "One thing I perceive to be wanting to you—*You have not known God:* for you do not confide in him as a gracious and most merciful Father, though you call him by that name; but rather you regard him as a severe and awful Being whom you dare not approach." [1]

[1] "Tyrannum aliquem, et ferocissimum satrapam." Fo. 270-1.—After the repeated specimens which have now been given, (and they appear to be so much in the usual strain of Zwingle's teaching, and are, in this piece particularly, so much proposed as samples to other ministers, that they may with strict propriety be called *specimens,*) I trust we may conclude that, had Dr. Milner been permitted still further to prosecute his inquiries, he would have found reason to retract, or greatly mitigate, the charge conveyed in the following sentence: "In regard to the fundamental doctrine of justification by faith, though Zwingle seems always to have

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5. The law not abrogated.

5. He then reprobates the idea of the law being abrogated by Christ. He has redeemed us from its *curse*, and delivered us from it as a *covenant*, but by his Spirit dwelling in us he renders us conformable to it; and only by that conformity to it are we demonstrated to be true members of Christ, justified in his righteousness.—And here he animadverts with some severity on numerous persons, who, if a fierce zeal against monks and nuns and priests and popish observances would prove them Christians, were indeed such, and that of a high order; but, if the meekness and gentleness of Christ were requisite, they made it too evident, by the entire want of these tempers, that they were not Christians at all, and brought great disgrace on the religion they professed.—He moreover censures, and attempts to correct, the errors of such as thought themselves liberated by the gospel from human laws, obedience to magistrates, and the payment of dues.[1]

Priests and Monks.

Having shewn that the papal rules and prescriptions relating to religion carry no obligation with them, he proposes the question, How ought they to deal with the crowds of idle priests with which they were surrounded? and

admitted it distinctly in theory, yet he by no means made that practical use of it which Luther and his disciples did." Hist. v. 531. (1132.) The observation also of his preceding page, "that it was one of the first objections of Luther to Zwingle," at Marpurg, "that the Swiss reformer and his adherents were not accustomed in their religious instructions to say much concerning the scriptural method of justification," may be considered as sufficiently explained by the account above given of the conference at that place. The fact is, Luther came to Murpurg with his mind filled with prejudices against the Swiss divines, many of which he soon discovered to be altogether unfounded. Above, p. 66-7.

[1] Fo. 271—273.

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he condemns severely the insolence and injustice with which many presumed to treat them. "First," he says, "we should aim from scripture to convince them of their errors; and the propagation of acknowledged errors should be put an end to. Those who confessed themselves to have been in error must be allowed to depart in peace. No part of the revenues which they had hitherto rightfully claimed ought to be withheld from them: but, as they died off, none should be advanced in their places. Such as proceeded with obstinacy, while they could not defend their opinions or practices from the scriptures, must be left to the magistrate, to whom it belonged to restrain them. Private individuals could claim no authority over them. Those who assumed a right to plunder and injure them were worse than Turks or heathens. Nor when any religious order was abolished must their revenues be left to fall into the hands of individuals, but be applied by the church under the sanction of the government to pious and charitable uses."[1] These we know were the principles acted upon at Zuric and elsewhere.

Duties of the Clergy.

6. He then proceeds to the duties of that class of persons for whom this "Introduction" was specially intended—the clergy. They were to devote themselves to prayer, the study of the word of God, and labours for the edification of their flocks.[2]—The remainder of the work is employed on the then important subjects of Images and the Mass.

Unity of the reformed Doctrine.

From this composition we derive a fresh proof that, in spite of controversies and minor differences, THE DOCTRINE OF THE REFORMATION

[1] Fo. 273-4. [2] Fo. 274.

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was ONE, whether in Germany, in Switzerland, or in England. And the reason why it was every where the same was, that it was the true gospel of Jesus Christ, brought to light again, through the medium of God's word, by the Holy Spirit shining into the hearts of numerous wise and good men in divers countries, after it had been obscured and well-nigh lost for ages.

III. His treatise "on Providence."

III. Zwingle's treatise on Providence is addressed to the Landgrave of Hesse, being the substance of a discourse which the author had delivered before him at the period of the Conference of Marpurg, and which the Landgrave desired to see reduced to writing. It is dated, August, 1530, and bears the title of *Anamnema*, or a recollection, or commemoration of the discourse.[1] It is distributed into seven chapters, bearing the following titles: "1. That Providence necessarily exists, because the Supreme Good must inevitably superintend and direct all things: 2. The nature of Providence, and how it differs from Wisdom: 3. That second causes are improperly called *causes*: 4. Of man, and why he is placed under a law, seeing all things are carried on by the providence of God: 5. That the Divine Providence has not erred either in creating man, or in instructing him by a law, though his fall was foreseen: 6. Of Election, which divines call Predestination; that it is sure and immutable, and that it is the offspring of wisdom and goodness: 7. That all the foregoing propositions are confirmed by examples."—Some abstruse topics are here proposed for discussion, and Zwingle discusses them with no timid spirit.

[1] Opera, i. fo. 352—379.

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The work abounds with elevated and sublime sentiments, of which we shall exhibit a few specimens.—"Providence," our author says, "is Wisdom employed in surveying and directing all things. We define it therefore, A perpetual and immutable government and administration of all things throughout the universe."[1] And it is incompatible with the divine perfections, he argues, that God should not exercise such a providence over the world and every thing in it: with his wisdom, that he should not *know* all things; and with his power or goodness, that, knowing, he should not *direct* all things. If *any* thing were left to chance it might throw *all* things into confusion.[2]—"That many things are by *us* unknown, or neglected, or despised, only shews our remoteness from Deity:[3] for to God nothing is mean, nothing is contemptible. To be capable of disdain at any thing is a proof of weakness and of a degree of misery."

Providence.

—"Second causes," by the agency of which every thing takes place, "are rather *means* and *instruments*, than properly speaking, *causes*. ... It is not really the earth that brings forth, or the water that nourishes, the air that fertilizes, or the fire that warms, or the sun that animates: but it is HE, that is the source, the life, and the support of all things, who uses these various instruments, and by them works their several effects. He feeds the varied fruits of the earth by the element of water; refreshes, fills, and makes them grow by the air; ripens and gives them beauty, mellows and perfects them, by the sun.... When therefore we see the parent earth putting forth her corn, the

First cause and second causes.

[1] Fo. 354. [2] Fo. 353, 359 (b).
[3] "Hinc est quód Numen non sumus." Fo. 377 (b).

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tree bearing his fruit, the sun shedding light and warmth around, let us as much realize the hand of God ministering all these things to us, as we do that of a kind father when we see him give a cluster of grapes to his beloved child." [1]

Man.

"Man (as he came from his Creator's hand) is the most extraordinary and admirable of all creatures. An angel is a noble being, consisting of pure spirit: but if you compare man with him will you not be astonished? He is at once heavenly and earthly—a CELESTIAL ANIMAL.... In so constituting him, the Creator seems to have afforded some shadow of that commerce which he would one day hold with this world in the person of his Son. For what could so plainly and naturally have prepared us for the incarnation of the Son of God, as seeing an intellectual spirit lodged in a sluggish earthly body?"

Again: "Take away man out of this lower world, and all is bereaved, sunk, and degraded. Who is there then of all visible creatures, to know God, to hold intercourse with him, to enjoy him? Man is to the world what God is to man. Remove him, and all is widowed and destitute. Who is there then any more for the sun to warm, or the zephyrs to fan, or for whom the earth may bring forth her fruits? Will you say, There are the lower animals? But for whom would they exist, when no one remained that understood the use of any thing? It was necessary then that he, who was to be the master, the lord, and I may say the husband of the world, should have something in common with the creatures over which he was to preside. At the same time he must possess

[1] Fo. 358, 359.

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some superior endowment, by which he should be enabled to govern them. A body therefore was given to *him* who was to be the head of all corporeal things: and a soul to *him*, who alone among corporeal beings should hold kindred and communication with God and spiritual subsistences..... But now observe the body assigned to man, and compare it with those of the animals around him. The lion is covered with hair, and has formidable teeth and claws. The bear, the stag, and every lower creature has his weapons of offence or defence. But the human body is produced smooth, tender, and unarmed. Some have adduced this as a proof of the weakness and misery of man: *we* think it a token and omen of his superiority and happiness. Formed as he was to enjoy God and all the creatures of God, a body adapted for gentleness, peace, and friendship became him."[1]

Speaking disadvantageously of the Law.

I am tempted to ask, Does our author in the following sentences glance at the unguarded manner in which Luther sometimes spoke of the law?[2] After describing the law as the discovery of the mind and will of God, he says, "Hence it appears that some persons of great name, in our own times, have spoken too incautiously of the law, as if it did nothing else than terrify, condemn, and deliver over to the curse. The law is not the *author* of these evils.

[1] Fo. 359, 360. Hence also the *economical* good arising from all the useful industry and ingenuity called into exercise by the demand for *clothing*.

[2] See vol. i. 240-1, and compare 328—330. Notwithstanding such decisive passages as are quoted in the places referred to, we are still confidently told that "Luther rages against the law as a rule of life:" and for so doing he is held up as an example for our imitation!—Irving's "Last Days," p. 413. (1828.)—This author misapprehends the term.

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On the contrary it is the revelation of the mind and will of God: than which nothing can be more excellent. S. Paul is more clear and more modest in his use of such modes of speaking.... His discourse all tends to extol the sanctity of the law, which he styles *spiritual* and *good*. *Was then* THAT WHICH IS GOOD *made death to me?* he asks: and he answers: *God forbid! but sin that it might appear sin, worketh death in me by* THAT WHICH IS GOOD—namely, the law. Observe how carefully he avoids casting odium upon the law, by attributing death and damnation to it. Not that I would proscribe the use, in their proper place, of such *enallages* as that which makes the law to condemn and doom to death, but that I would have modesty and caution observed in the use of them.... That the law condemns and makes men guilty is no otherwise true, than it is true that the introduction of a light among a company of deformed men *disfigures* them. It is the detector of their deformity, not the author of it." [1]

His doctrine of predestination.

But it is in this work that our author's high predestinarian sentiments are more fully developed, than in any other part of his writings that I have examined. Three particulars may specially be remarked in his doctrine, which are almost unheard of among intelligent and respectable Calvinists of modern times, and on all which his statements are exceedingly to be deprecated.

1. Irrespective reprobation.

1. He takes up the question of predestination, as it affects the eternal destinies of men, on such grounds as apply to them simply as *creatures*, and not merely as *sinners*.

[1] Fo. 361-2.

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And, though the title of his sixth chapter, and some things contained in it,[1] would seem to limit the discussion (as our seventeenth article is limited,) to 'predestination to life,' or *election*, yet it is too clear that he extends it also to reprobation. 'Predestination must be irrespective of human works, performed or foreseen, otherwise the determinations of the Creator are made dependent on the actions of the creature; and we vainly imagine "ourselves to be or to become something of ourselves, before God could decide any thing concerning us."'[2] This is his principle. But what a ground is this on which to build such a conclusion as that of God's dooming his creatures to endless misery irrespectively of their deserts!—a conclusion so repugnant not only to all our notions of justice and goodness, but to all those views which the scriptures lead us to take of the divine proceedings—I might surely say so contradictory to their statements at large.

Election.

That the election of *sinners* to eternal life should be irrespective of their works, and even contrary to their deserts, there may be good reason for maintaining; all their good works being considered as flowing from the grace given them in pursuance of their election; and therefore following it as its consequence, not preceding it (even in foresight,) as its cause: but this differs *toto cœlo* from the other position. That the Most High should dispense favours above, and even contrary to the deserts of the recipients, may be worthy of his goodness: but to ascribe to him the creation of rational beings expressly for evil and misery; or the infliction of evil, or the determination

[1] Fo. 160.

[2] Fo. 366 (b).

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to inflict it, irrespectively of the deserts of the sufferer: thus to claim for him a right which he never claims for himself, and which all his perfections (we must conceive,) must render it impossible for him to exercise: this must be thought an uncalled for, an unacceptable service—however piously it may be intended.[1]

That Zwingle meant to confine his principle to predestination *to life* I should have been glad to believe; and I might perhaps have done so from his work on Providence taken alone: had not other parts of his writings, some of which have been adduced or referred to, apparently put it out of doubt that he extended it to reprobation also.[2]

[1] That the divine SOVEREIGNTY (strictly so called,) extends only to the collation of *good*—in short, 'that all good in the universe is from *sovereign bounty*, and all evil confined within the strict bounds of *equity*'—is the sublime, and I believe truly scriptural principle of a Calvinistic dissenter of eminence, who among other works wrote a Defence of Modern Calvinism in answer to Bishop Tomline's Refutation. I refer to Dr. Williams, late of Rotherham.

It is to be observed, however, that Zwingle expressly considers the destruction of those that perish as a display of the divine "justice." He thinks therefore that all such live to shew their character in wicked works, and that all who die in infancy are to be numbered among the elect. Above, p. 149.—That the elect are chosen "*unto* obedience," though not *for* their obedience; and are brought to "walk religiously in good works," as the only way to heaven; is to be understood as admitted by all persons whose opinions are deserving of any regard.

[2] Salus æternæ vitæ, et contra, æternæ mortis ærumnæ, cum prorsus sit liberæ vel electionis vel abjectionis divini judicii." ... Declaratio ad Urb. Regium: 1526: Op. ii. 117 (b): or Epist. 56 (b).—"Frustra dicimus, Utinam (Esau) infans mortuus esset! mori enim non potuit, quem divina providentia in hoc creavit, ut viveret, atque impie viveret." Elenchus, 1527: Op. ii. 56: or Epist. 110 (b). Item de Juda and Caino, Epist. 70. Still these passages may be restricted to specimens of a *fallen* race. The *principles* above stated seem necessarily to extend the doctrine to *creatures* as *creatures*.

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2. The next very exceptionable point of our author's doctrine is, that, in the same way as Melancthon in his earlier years had done, he so makes all that takes place in the universe, the actions of rational and accountable agents among the rest, to proceed from God, as to run infinite risk, to say the least, of representing Him, to all ordinary apprehensions, as equally the source of evil and of good! I really cannot bring myself to quote all his language upon this subject. It may be quite sufficient to say, that he makes God the (righteous) "author, mover, impeller," though men are the criminal agents in the most atrocious actions![1] "Such offenders sinned against the law, not as authors but as instruments, whom God can more freely use than the master of a family may either drink water or pour it on the ground!"[2] Hence he sanctions the maxim of the philosophers, "Omnia esse unum," (qu. that there is but one existence in the universe?) "provided only it be rightly understood."[3] Is not this awfully to corrupt religion by "philosophy?" Is it not "intruding into things unseen," unknown, and not *knowable* by us? I am far indeed from saying that Zwingle intruded into them "vainly puffed up by a fleshly mind:"[4] for I am persuaded that all was combined in him with profound piety; and that he even imagined that these speculations conduced to piety. How he supposed that he disjoined them from any imputation upon the holiness, justice, or goodness

2. All actions traced up to God.

[1] Fo. 365 (b).

[2] Fo. 366. "Movet ergo latronem ad occidendum....Nec dicet quisquam, Innocens igitur est latro, Deo enim impulsore occidit....At inquies, Coactus est ad peccandum. Permitto, inquam, coactum esse!....*ib.*

[3] Fo. 377.

[4] Coloss. ii. 18.

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of the Divine Being, we shall immediately learn. That he held them to be perfectly compatible with the responsibility of man, he every where most expressly avows: but the link by which he connected the two was, I fear, much too fine to be obvious to ordinary organs of vision.[1]—Surely we must say of this class of subjects, "Such knowledge is too wonderful for me: it is high, I cannot attain unto it." Is it not wise, therefore, yet further to adopt the words of the Psalmist, and say respecting them, "Neither do I exercise myself in great matters, or in things too high for me?" *God controls all things, yet without being the author of evil:* surely scripture proclaims this, and reason must assent to it. Yet *man acts from choice, without constraint, and is therefore accountable:* both consciousness, and scripture, and the common sense of mankind assure us of this. And beyond these two propositions we shall not advance far in our present state. Let us hold them both fast, "not suffering what we do know to be disturbed by what we do not know;"[2] and we shall find ourselves possessed

[1] Gerdes states it to be effected, according to Zwingle, by the scholastic distinction between the *action* itself, and the *form* of that action. "*Actionem* totam (creaturarum rationalium), qualiscunque ea sit, et dependere et dirigi, quinimo effici sciscit a Deo, rerum omnium auctore, gubernatore, atque unicâ causâ. *Formam* vero actionis, per quam ea legalem sese prodit vel illegalem, soli homini ascribi debere inculcat." Gerdes. ii. 398.

[2] It is a truly golden sentence of Dr. Paley's, in his Natural Theology, the *wide application* of which I recommend to all my younger readers to study—"TRUE FORTITUDE OF UNDERSTANDING CONSISTS IN NOT SUFFERING WHAT WE DO KNOW TO BE DISTURBED BY WHAT WE DO NOT KNOW." It contains "the seed" of answers not only to the great mass of infidel objections, but to almost every perversion of Christian, if not also of philosophical, truth.

of sufficient information for all practical purposes. A. D. 1531.

3. The one reason which he has to give why God does, and can do no wrong in any of these things is, that He is under no law; and "where there is no law there is no transgression."[1] A sufficiently extraordinary application of that text of scripture, we must confess this to be! Might there not be more room to say, alluding to another clause in the same passage, Having no law, he is "a law unto himself?" But the great question is, where do the scriptures ever lead us to vindicate the divine conduct by any such argument? Does not the "impossibility"[2] that God should do wrong arise, according to them, from his IMMUTABLE GOODNESS, and not from his UNCONTROLLABLE GREATNESS? Let us not argue on His behalf as he has never set us the example of arguing for 3. Why God can do no wrong.

[1] Fo. 364, 365 (b), &c. &c. Item, de Relig. Op. ii. 222-3. —"Either there is in the nature of things an essential difference between virtue and vice, or the Supreme Being *constitutes* a difference, by choosing to act in a particular way without reason...The latter supposition is founded on the most unintelligible mysticism, and if pushed into all its consequences will hardly fall short of Atheism itself." Dean Milner's Essay on Human Liberty, p. 82-3. Dr. Williams also (before referred to,) condemns the regarding, "openly or by implication, divine will itself as the only rule of justice to God;" or his being "represented as creating accountable beings for the purpose of their becoming *vessels of wrath;* as reprobating them irrespectively of desert; as placing them in circumstances which would physically necessitate their sin and misery; as predetermining their defection and ruin; or as decreeing the unhappiness or destruction of a part, simply for the benefit of the whole." Life, by Gilbert, p. 487. I might also cite another modern Calvinistic writer, who may be considered as stating the sentiments of a large number of his brethren: but I defer it till we come to the account of Calvin himself and his doctrines.

[2] Hebr. vi. 18.- James i. 13, &c.

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himself. Indeed the vindication here offered is not only without precedent in scripture, it is *contrary* to scripture, which repeatedly calls even us short-sighted mortals to compare the divine proceedings with those perfect rules of right and wrong, which he has given for the direction of our conduct; and to say whether we must not even give sentence against ourselves, that all is in strict conformity with them. "Are not *my* ways equal? are not *your* ways unequal?" And is not the reasoning of Zwingle as little consistent, on this head, with the doctrine which he has himself so justly laid down, that the law given for our government is nothing else than a transcript of "the divine mind and will," and "that God is himself all that his law requires us to be"? [1] with what also he has so well expressed even in the course of these discussions, "His nature and disposition are to Him what the law is to us" [2]—the unerring rule of rectitude?

[1] De Relig. Op. ii. 222 (b).

[2] "Illi ergo natura et ingenium sunt quæ nobis lex sunt" (est). Fo. 362 (b). Zwingle's positions here remarked upon were objected to in his own day, and are in some degree discussed and explained by J. H. Hottinger, viii. 298—309; who traces the whole history of this doctrine in the Helvetian churches, in five periods, from the days of Zwingle to his own time: ib. 616—980. It would seem that Myconius, the successor of Œcolampadius, and Bullinger the successor of Zwingle, while they held firmly the substance of the doctrine since called Calvinistic, avoided the exceptionable statements here animadverted upon. Bullinger indeed seems to have shunned such subjects altogether, till the dangerous doctrines which were broached on the other side convinced him of the necessity of assigning to them their proper place, in order to preserve the doctrine of salvation by grace, in a full and proper sense of the word. On Myconius, see Hottinger viii. 652—678: on Bullinger, ibid. 715, &c. "In some wonderful and ineffable manner," says Peter Martyr, from Augustine, "that is not done *without* the will of God, which is

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If Calvinism is to be successfully defended, assuredly it must be not by taking these extravagantly high grounds, but rather by abandoning them, and occupying a less aspiring station. How far Calvin himself did this, we shall have to examine before we close the present volume. —It would seem probable that Melancthon was the first, at least among those of the reformers who had ever held them, to discover the indefensibility of these positions: and he published his altered "Common Places," not till four years after the death of Zwingle, in the very same year in which Calvin's Institutes are thought first to have appeared—the year 1535.

Remarks on "Calvinism."

We have seen it then clearly established concerning three of the very greatest reformers, Luther, Melancthon, and Zwingle, (and we know that many more thought with them,[1]) that, at an earlier period, at least, of their course, they not only held those doctrines of election and predestination which have subsequently been denominated Calvinistic, but that they carried them to a length almost unknown among 'modern Calvinists'—even so far as to take away all liberty from creatures, simply as such, and to make God the prime mover in all their actions. Nor did those high doctrines originate with these persons. They held them

even *contrary* to his will." 723. Myconius observes, with that submission and that confidence in God which will grow upon those who "follow on to know the Lord," "Considering the justice and holiness of God in all his works, I am constrained thus to argue with myself: 'If He hath done it, he did it justly; and if justly then well'.... Hence I cease to tremble, and, committing all things unreservedly to his will, I pray Him to keep me from evil." 664.

[1] Wycliffe also is well known to have gone far (*how far*, I am not prepared to say,) in the same line.

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in common with eminent writers who had preceded them, and were members of the Roman-catholic church ;[1] and they would, I apprehend, have been able to support some of their boldest positions by the authority of S. Augustine himself. Why then is all the odium of these obnoxious doctrines to be accumulated upon the devoted head of CALVIN, who had never yet been heard of in public life, even at the latest period here referred to?

Yet further: Surely none can be so blinded with prejudice, as not to acknowledge, even after this statement is made, and these facts confessed, the vast practical wisdom, the holy excellence, and the immense usefulness, which were found in these three great men, in combination even with that highly exceptionable form and measure of these doctrines with which they were chargeable. What real discernment, what value for Christian truth, and love of Christian virtue, can we allow to that man, who does not see, and irresistibly *feel*, that these persons still deserve our highest veneration, affection, and gratitude, *notwithstanding* the errors into which they may have fallen upon these subjects? Yea, though we would be far from implying that any error is innocuous, yet we may even ask, what great obstruction, or even alloy, to their actual usefulness do we *see* arising from their sentiments upon these abstruse points? Those sentiments little affected their ordinary instructions and modes of address —than which nothing could be more impressive, nothing more practical, nothing more effec-

[1] See notice of Laurentius Valla, in vol. ii. 192, 201. Also of the 'Calvinism of the council of Trent:' ib. p. 276—278: and P. Lombard quoted by Melancthon, ib. p. 213, note.

tive. And, if this must be admitted concerning the mighty dead, why should not some small measure of the same justice be dealt out to the humbler living? Where have been found more holy, more laborious, more efficient men, in our own days, than those, whom the circumstance of their holding some very much moderated and attempered portion of the doctrines held by these great reformers has exposed to almost unbounded animosity and obloquy? What would have been thought of the modern spirit upon this subject in times past? What may we suppose will be thought of it in times yet to come? In a review hereafter assuredly to be made, will bitter and contemptuous hostility be esteemed any proof of either our wisdom or our virtue? A. D. 1531.

CHAPTER XXI.

PROGRESS OF REFORMATION IN FRENCH SWITZERLAND, AND IN THE CANTONS, FROM A. D. 1531 TO 1534.

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French Switzerland.

WHILE the German part of Switzerland was harassed with the preludes, the conflicts, and the consequences of war, the French or Western part enjoyed comparative repose, and was the scene of the successful progress of the gospel. We have already given some account of the propagation of the reformed doctrine in that country, principally through the zealous labours of Farel, to the close of the year 1530.[1] We proceed now to continue that account, and also to record such occurrences as appear worthy of notice in other parts of Switzerland, to the period when Geneva shall appear on the stage, and for a time almost engross our attention.

Labours of Farel, 1531.

The various promising scenes of service opening before Farel in Aigle, Morat, Neuchâtel, Vallengin, and other places rendered the assistance of faithful fellow-labourers indispensable to him. He wrote to his friends in various quarters to procure him such assistance, but without adequate success. The persecutions

[1] Chap. xix.

in France (so does the providence of God order the affairs of his church, making its afflictions in one part subserve its interests in another,) furnished the principal supply, by the number of pious ministers and other persons whom it compelled to quit their native country. A letter of Farel's to one person of this description, Eustace André, surnamed Fortunatus, may further illustrate the spirit of the writer, and the nature of the service in which he was engaged. It is dated 28 January, 1531. "You wish to know in what state the affairs of our Lord in these parts now are. In truth, they proceed well in comparison with past times. Numbers see clearly the frauds of Antichrist: and great liberty is enjoyed for speaking of Christ. Yet, when it is considered how much yet remains to be done, and how far men are from the harmlessness, the holiness, and the charity which ought to be found in Christians, you might well say that all is still in evil case." After some further explanation he proceeds: "The labourer must here live at his own charge while he is waiting for the harvest: and this, I confess, is difficult in a time of scarcity,[1] when money goes but a little way. But I know that our heavenly Father will never desert his children.....Those who enter on the service now proposed to you must reckon on meeting with much trial. I can promise you no other than this; having myself experienced almost incredible vexations from various quarters. If then, my brother, you so know Jesus Christ as to preach him purely, without entering into vain controversies about water, or bread, or

A. D. 1531.

Eustace André.

[1] Several scarce years appear to have occurred about this time. Mezerai, an. 1531, &c.

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tithes and taxes[1]—in which questions some appear to place all Christianity: if you have nothing else to propose than that men, renouncing all impiety and all injustice, and armed with faith, should lay up for themselves treasures in heaven, where Jesus Christ sitteth at the right hand of the Father; and, paying to each power, and to either sword, (the spiritual as well as the temporal,) whether taxes or tithes —and that not only to the ungodly (if it be the will of God to place us under such,) but also to the pious—and with so much more affection to the latter *because they are brethren*—should aim only to implant a *faith which worketh by love*: disposed, I say, in this manner, seeking nothing but the things which are above, and the sole glory of Jesus Christ, you may (boldly) set out on your journey hither, animated to bear whatever cross awaits you. You must not expect repose but labour: you must not rest till you have first wearied yourself; nor reap till you have sown at your own cost."

How fine a specimen is this of a Christian hero endeavouring to enlist a fellow-soldier to serve with him! He "faints not, neither is weary" himself: and, like his divine Master, he scorns to allure any one into the service by a more favourable representation of it than strict truth would warrant. Indeed it seems to be going unreasonably far to propose, without respect to the circumstances of the individual, that he should come with no other prospect, at least for some time, than that of subsisting himself at his own charge, while he laboured for the good of others. Want of the means of doing

[1] Referring to the Anabaptists on one hand, and to the sacramental controversy on the other.

this, together with the circumstance that, as a married man, he wished for a more quiet situation, caused some demur on the part of André: but, to his honour be it recorded, he allowed his objections to be overcome, and became the coadjutor of Farel. In consequence we find him a few years afterwards, in 1536 or 1537, established the first pastor of the church of Cuilly, and of the parish of Villette.[1] A. D. 1531.

At Avenche, where the bishop of Lausanne possessed both a temporal and a spiritual power, Farel encountered much opposition and some danger, though the people were anxious to hear him. He was supported however by the powerful arm of Berne: and, as Friburg took an active part on the other side, this led to some discussions between the two states, and to such an arrangement concerning their common dependencies, the bailliages of Swartzburg, Morat, Orbe, and Granson, as excites our surprise. It was agreed that, where the reformed faith should be chosen by a plurality of votes, the Romanists should not in future enjoy the public exercise of their religion: while, on the contrary, where the faith of Rome was supported by the majority, the reformed should still be allowed their worship, and to preach as they had hitherto done. That such unequal terms should be observed for any length of time could not be expected: and accordingly we find them afterwards superseded by what we must acknowledge to be a more fair agreement.[2] Avenche. 1532.

The reformed doctrine had been first introduced into Orbe in the year 1530: but it drew little attention till the following year, when some violent proceedings took place. A Lent Orbe.

[1] Ruchat, iv. 7—12. [2] Ib. 12—20, 72-3, 77—79.

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preacher, who appears to have been in high favour with the female part of the population, took occasion to vent from the pulpit the most scurrilous accusations against the reformed, particularly those who had quitted their convents and married. Christopher Houlard, a friend of Farel's, supposing his own brother John,[1] who had relinquished the deanery of Friburg from attachment to the reformation, to be particularly pointed at, was guilty of the imprudence and impropriety of giving the lie to the preacher while he was yet in his sermon. In consequence he was himself with difficulty preserved from being torn to pieces on the spot. The same risk was incurred by some others who took part with him; and by Farel himself, when, accompanied by a deputy from Berne, he soon after attempted to preach at Orbe. And in these violences the women, headed by certain "devout and honourable" members of their own body,[2] (such, it appears, have peculiar need to guard against becoming the dupes or even the prompters of popular corrupters of the faith,) took the lead. It is remarkable, however, that the heart of the ringleader of them all, a woman of quality, named Elizabeth Reiff, the wife of Hugonin d'Arnay, was soon afterwards so touched and changed, we trust, by the grace of God, that both she and her husband embraced the reformation, and persevered constant in their attachment to it till death.[3]

Houlard.

Eliz. Reiff.

Some subsequent attempts which Farel made

[1] Above, vol. ii. 427. He became minister of Bonneville, near Bienne, and subsequently of Bex, in the government of Aigle: whence having retired on account of age, he died at Orbe in the year 1569. Ru. iv. 60, 61.

[2] Acts xiii. 50.

[3] Ruchat, iv. 20—27.

to gain attention at Orbe, though vigorously supported by the authority of Berne, met for the present with little more success:[1] yet among the first fruits of the reformation at Orbe, produced at this early period, were some converts who became useful labourers. At the head of these is to be reckoned Peter Viret, whose memory, says Ruchat, "will be for ever blessed among us," and whom we shall have frequent occasion to mention hereafter. He was the son of a burgess of Orbe, and was born there in the year 1511. After receiving his earlier education in his native town, he studied at Paris, and distinguished himself in that university. There he first formed his acquaintance with Farel; and there was first illuminated by some rays of the light of divine truth; a circumstance which compelled him to quit his situation in order to avoid persecution. He retired to Orbe, and was there prevailed upon by Farel to devote himself to the ministry of the gospel. His labours were first blessed to his own parents, whom he had the happiness to lead to the knowledge of Christ and to true piety.

A. D. 1531.

Peter Viret.

Another person whom Farel is said to have "consecrated to the ministry" was George Grivat, likewise a native of Orbe, who had been a chorister at Lausanne, and then chanter of the church of his own town. He embraced the reformation, to the great regret of his father, and began to preach the gospel at this

G. Grivat.

[1] Orbe and Granson did not embrace the reformation till the year 1534, the former July 30, the latter November 26. Ru. vi. 439. We have a letter of Calvin's to the friends of reformation at Orbe a short time before this event, and another of Viret's to him announcing its happy consummation. Calv. Epist. p. 92, 93. Op. ix.

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time. He afterwards became minister of Avanche; which situation he filled with much acceptance till his death, in the year 1550.[1]

J. le Comte.

John le Comte was another useful minister in this part of the country, (though his zeal was sometimes intemperate,) who may be here commemorated. He was a native of Picardy, born in the year 1500, of a good family. He was one of those who, as early as the year 1522, in concert with James le Fevre of Etaples, commonly called Faber Stapulensis, and Farel, preached the gospel under the patronage of William Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, and first laboured to introduce the reformation in France. Being soon driven from their station by persecution, he and Le Fevre took refuge with the queen of Navarre, sister of Francis I, at that time the protectress of all such characters. Subsequently Le Comte became tutor to the sons of the deceased admiral De Bonnivet: when he attracted the attention of some persons of judgment and influence, who discerned in him a proper instrument to be employed under the canton of Berne, in the object which that canton zealously pursued—the diffusion of the reformation. His reluctance to this undertaking being overcome, he was sent into Switzerland with letters of introduction to Farel, and to Anthony Marcourt, then minister of Neuchâtel. By them he was recommended to the council of Berne, and was

1532. established as minister of Granson. There he continued, with some interruptions, (during

1558. the principal of which he was professor of Hebrew at Lausanne,) till his death in the year 1572. He left three sons, who were all ministers; and his posterity, says Ruchat,

[1] Ruchat iv, 34—41.

" have furnished ministers to the church, from father to son, without interruption to this day." [1] A. D. 1531-4.

The rest of the proceedings in the Pays de Vaud and other parts of French Switzerland, to the close of the year 1534, may be despatched in few words. Farel, assisted by the persons who have been mentioned, by the two Houlards, Mark Romain, Claude de Glautinis and others, laboured assiduously, but not always with entire prudence, amidst great opposition, and frequently at the risk of his life, at Avenche, Orbe, Payerne, Granson, Moudon, Lausanne, Neuchâtel, Vallengin, Moutier-Grand-Val, and throughout the country generally. The government of Berne which possessed either jurisdiction or great influence in all these places, supported him vigorously: indeed they appear to have done too much, if not to induce the people to receive the gospel, yet to compel them to hear it. The papal party, on the other hand, raised violent tumults against the reformers and the reformed: and these, it must be confessed were in some instances guilty of disorders, in breaking images and overturning altars, which gave their enemies advantage against them. The government of Berne, however, uniformly checked every movement of misguided individual zeal. The reflections of Ruchat on this subject are extremely good. "It pains me," he says, "to report instances of this kind, but truth and impartiality require me not to suppress them. It is fitting also to shew to our adversaries that we attempt not to excuse misconduct in the members of our own communion, and that our religion is far from

Further labours of Farel and his associates. 1532—1534.

Disorderly proceedings.

[1] A. D. 1728. Ib. iv. 225—229. v. 33, 34, 164, 639. vi. 425—429.

CHAP. XXI.

authorising tumult, violence, or disorder. No doubt the persons who were guilty of offences of this kind thought they did God service, grounding their proceedings on the laws given to the Israelites. But these were special laws delivered to that people; and they were to be executed by the nation, as such, and through its magistrates, not by private individuals.... It is not to be wondered at if such proceedings prejudiced the Roman Catholics against the reformation. Men cannot be induced at once to lay aside the sentiments and habits in which they have been brought up, and passively to see that treated with insult, which from childhood they have been taught to revere. Violently to break images is not to root out idolatry: it only irritates those who revere them. Their minds must first be enlightened: and thus they may be led to destroy their idols with their own hands."[1]—The labours of the reformers were however eventually successful in these parts.[2]

The Cantons.

Concerning the Cantons at large, with the exception of Berne, there is little at this period to relate in addition to what has been stated concerning the consequences of the war. At

1532. Zuric.

Zuric a more regular provision was made for the clergy; the library was put in order under the direction of Pellican, and was enriched by the addition of Zwingle's books and manuscripts, purchased at the public expense. At

Basle.

Basle, Capito lent his zealous assistance, as we shall find that he also did this same year at Berne, in improving the discipline of the church, and promoting a reformation of manners among the people. The university and

[1] Ruchat iv. 66—68.

[2] Ib. 41—123, 222—247. v. 7—39, 156—167.

the public schools were extended, and furnished with a more complete establishment of professors and teachers. Here too a singular example occurred of an improved state of feeling, even in a turbulent peasantry. In the year 1525, Basle, like so many other states, had encountered much disturbance from the rustics of certain bailliages. This had at length been terminated by a treaty made with the malcontents, through the intervention of some neighbouring states. The years 1530 and 1531 proved a season of great scarcity; and the government exerted itself with becoming zeal for the relief of a suffering people: and so favourable was the impression made, and so much was the state of the popular mind altered, that the lately insurgent bailliages now sent to the magistrates, of their own accord, acknowledging their past errors, and voluntarily surrendering the treaty which they had extorted.[1] A. D. 1531.

Appenzel, at this time embraced the reformation by a plurality of voices. In Glaris, the two parties, the reformed and their opponents, contended with mutual violences, but without any interesting result. The restored abbot of S. Gallen attempted forcibly to suppress the reformation in his dependencies: but his attempts were defeated. The Tockenburg, however, which had actually purchased its independence, and had had the purchase confirmed by the Roman-catholic cantons, was again brought under his yoke.[2] In the towns of Bremgarten and Mellingen, the cantons of Zuric and Berne zealously exerted themselves to protect the reformed Appenzel. Glaris. Tockenburg, &c.

[1] Ruchat, iv. 156—162.

[2] Ru. iv. 175—188, 340.

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faith: but, it would appear, without eventual success.[1]

Attempts of the pope. 1532.

At this period hopes were conceived, or at least pretended to be entertained, on the part of the Pope, that Zuric would retrace her steps, and return into the bosom of the church. To promote so desirable an object his holiness sent a nuncio, Ennius, into Switzerland, under pretence of engaging the cantons to assist in a war against the Turk, with directions if possible to gain access to Zuric. He even, in order to promote his design, made proposals for repaying certain sums of money which he had long owed that canton, but which, according to the morality of his church, he was justified in withholding from heretics. The attempt was renewed the following year. But, in the mean time, the exertions of Bullinger and Leo Jude so rekindled the languishing zeal of the citizens, that the pope's insidious offers were rejected, and a decree was promulgated sufficiently suited to extinguish the hopes of the enemies of the reformation.[2] Chagrined at his disappointment, Ennius spared no pains again to embroil Zuric with the Roman-catholic cantons. Attempts were also made to form an alliance between the pope, the emperor, and those cantons: but the Turks found the emperor too much employment to leave him at leisure to force popery upon the Swiss: so that all which could be effected was a fruitless treaty between the pope, the Roman-catholic cantons, and the Vallaisans.[3]

[1] Ru. iv. 194—198. Compare iii. 477-8. Above. p. 115.

[2] According to the fashion of the times, it went unwarrantably far not only excluding from office all who communicated with the papists, but even sentencing to banishment such as absented themselves from the Lord's supper. Ru. iv. 190.

[3] Ib. iv. 189—194, 199, 201-2, 274—277.

A. D. 1534.

It was soon after this period that the final suppression of the reformation at Soleure took place.[1] After the close of the war the victorious cantons iniquitously, and contrary to the treaty of peace, being seconded by the Romanists of Soleure, insisted that the town should either pay a thousand crowns towards the expences of the war—or dismiss the reformed minister, Philip Grotz—or submit to the judgment of the cantons for having assisted the Bernese. The reformed would have complied with the first of these demands, however unjust; but the real object was the expulsion of their minister, and the suppression of their religion; and nothing short of this would satisfy their enemies: and this object, after much altercation, in which Berne exerted itself in favour of one party and Friburg in support of the other, was at length fully attained: the reformed were expelled the town, and all the remaining inhabitants compelled to attend mass.[2]

Soleure.

1534.

In the painful sacramental controversy, mutual occasions of complaint continued to be given on both sides, while persevering but ineffectual attempts were made, chiefly under the conduct of Bucer, to reconcile the contending parties.[3] But we shall enter no further into the subject than to state the origin of the Confession of Mulhausen. In the year 1534, the pastors of Basle, assisted by Bucer and Capito from Strasburg, met, and, in order to repel the charges of unsoundness in the doctrine of the eucharist, which had been brought against them, adopted, as the confession of their faith, the "Summary of Christian Doctrine" which had been drawn up by Œcolampa-

Confession of Mulhausen. 1534.

[1] Above, p. 95—97. [2] Ru. iv. 248—294.
[3] Ru. iv. 205—211. v. 180—184, 361—364.

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dius, and presented to the diet of Augsburg in 1530. The council and citizens also sanctioned it, and it received the name of the First Confession of Basle, to distinguish it from a subsequent one composed in the year 1536. Being afterwards received, and more permanently adhered to, by the town and small territory of Mulhausen, it obtained the designation first mentioned—under which it appears in the collections. [1]

Anabaptists.

Conferences were held in the year 1533 with the Anabaptists; one at S. Gallen, and another, with full form and ceremony, at Zoffingen: but, as might have been expected, with little effect, as far at least as those were concerned who had already imbibed the sentiments of that fanatical sect. At Berne, after the attempt had been in vain made by successive decrees to stop their progress, we find, in 1534, a letter of Haller's to a friend, some sentences of which excite our interest, as detailing the recommendation and adoption of more tolerant measures than had been usually resorted to. "The latter end of August," he says, "as the Anabaptists went on daily increasing their numbers, the council ordered us (the ministers) to deliberate on the proper course to be taken for removing this annoyance. They expected that we should approve the design of visiting these people with capital punishment: but we have done quite the contrary. We have represented to both the councils, that the cause of the evil, and of the spread of this sect, is to be found in the vices and scandals which prevail in the church; and have given in our proposals as to the course which we think should be pursued

with respect to them." In the month of November following, the council, after mature deliberation, at which all the bailiffs from the country were called to assist, published a new decree, the first article of which, as being somewhat curious, we shall transcribe. It is as follows: "Since faith is the gift of God, and unbelief on the contrary a mark of reprobation; and since it is not in the power of man either to give faith or to take it away: to the end that none may accuse us of rashness, as undertaking that which pertains only to God, to his grace and his election, our design is only to make regulations concerning external things, in order once for all to purify our churches, and, as much as in us lies, to promote their unity." The sequel of the decree directs all persons to attend the services of their proper minister—or, if he be unworthy to be attended, to present him to the consistory; to bring their children to baptism; and themselves to receive the Lord's supper, unless scruples of conscience prevent them—in which case they are to confer with their ministers.[1] The tenor of the decree, it is manifest, is unusually tolerant, though its provisions promised little, and required to be explained and extended by another decree in the year following; but the ground on which it places its tolerance is not a little remarkable. We have before seen that on principles of the kind here stated, by a process of reasoning the soundness of which we cannot readily admit, was so much of tolerance as existed at this period first introduced, or at least early supported. Very contrary to

A. D. 1534.

Tolerance.

[1] Ruchat, iv. 217—222, v. 187—193. I find Haller's letter at length in Füeslin's collection, p. 156—165.

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the insinuations which are continually made, and to the conclusions at which many would fain arrive, doctrines decidedly *Calvinistic*, as they would now be termed, are made the basis of perhaps the earliest toleration that was practised (except by Luther,) after popery had introduced the reign of persecution.

Synod of Berne. 1532.

But the meeting and proceedings of the Synod of Berne, in the year 1532, may be considered as the most important occurrence, that took place at this period in any of the churches whose history has hitherto come under our notice. Many disorders prevailed in the canton, which were increased by the relaxation of discipline produced by the late unfortunate war: and on the whole the reformation was felt to be in various respects imperfect. To consider of proper remedies for these evils, the whole clergy of the country were convoked at Berne, and Capito was invited from Strasburg to give his assistance. There met together in consequence two hundred and thirty ministers; who continued in consultation from the ninth to the fourteenth of January, and agreed upon a copious list of regulations relative to doctrine, discipline, the conduct of divine service, and the preaching and behaviour of the pastors of the church. These rules were finally reduced to writing in the German language by Capito, and, having received the sanction of the council, were printed at Basle. They were soon after translated into Latin by Simon Sultzer, and printed in that language. Haller, the reformer and pastor of Berne, was so impressed with the services of Capito on this occasion that he styled him the Father of the Bernese church. Ruchat has given these "Acts of the Synod" at length,

in an appendix to the tenth book of his History.[1] In his judgment, they breathe "a purely evangelical spirit," and are every way worthy of the great and good man who had the principal hand in drawing them up. They were ordered to be read through, without retrenchment, explained, and re-acknowledged by the clergy yearly in their meeting held in the month of May.[2] They are introduced by a preface or letter of the synod, addressed to the lords of Berne: the canons or regulations themselves, under forty-four heads, then follow: and the confirmation of the council is subjoined. In the prefatory address, the synod define the power and duty of the magistrate in affairs of religion, which they hold to be, to restrain immoralities and open impiety; to protect the truth; and so to order external matters, that as little impediment as possible may be opposed to the work of divine grace on the hearts of men—by which alone they can be brought to true religion. But he is cautioned, to take care not to lord it over men's consciences—"by doing which the pope, the bishops, the priests, and all their company so far became antichrists, and taught doctrines of devils; assuming to domineer according to their own pleasure; to make sins which God had never made; to pardon and grant indulgences for violations of his law; and to merit grace, even for other men, by works which were the figments of their own brain." But it does not follow, the synod contends, that, on account of this abuse, the magistrate ought to renounce the power which he has received from God, or to bury the talent for which he is accountable to Him.

A. D. 1532.

[1] Vol. iv. 349—493. [2] Ib. 151—154.

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No very distinct form of church government is traced in these Acts: but somewhat of a presbyterian scheme, founded on a parity of order in ministers, seems to be assumed as in operation.

Extracts from its Articles. Preaching Christ.

We shall give a few specimens of the articles. The second and third are thus intitled, "That our whole doctrine is reducible to the head of JESUS CHRIST;" and, "That the knowledge of God is to be proposed to the people only in Him." "All sound doctrine," they declare, relates to the fatherly goodness and mercy which God has shewn to us by Jesus Christ, and is nothing else but Jesus Christ himself, who was crucified for our offences and raised again for our justification. Whatever is adverse to this doctrine is adverse to our salvation: whatever does not comprehend this can never be called Christian doctrine.... It is by Him that God reconciles us to himself; and it is in him that we learn to know the works of God, and the paternal and merciful sweetness of his heart towards us. It is in this understanding, and this experimental knowledge of Jesus Christ, that the faithful increase continually under pastoral instruction. But this cannot take place when ministers speak much of God in a pagan-like manner, and do not make him known to their hearers in the face of Jesus Christ. . . .If ministers neglect to make known the grace of God in Jesus Christ, their people will become more and more wicked and faithless, and will finally be found *without God in the world.*"—Chapter vii. "It is not enough that ministers have often in their mouths the words, 'Jesus Christ our Saviour,' and other like terms; for the gospel of the kingdom consists not in mere words, but in the power of

God, which lays hold on the hearts of the faithful, changes them, renews them, and, of poor sinners as they were, makes them the children of God, and transforms them into men of heavenly minds, whose inclinations are no more carnal but divine." "We ought deeply to revolve in our minds the preaching of the apostles, as recorded in the book of Acts.... They shew throughout the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, and preach thereby repentance and forgiveness of sins—which is the summary of our gospel. We should study these discourses carefully, that we may commence where the inspired teachers commenced, and that like them we may go forward and grow in Christ."—Chapter xviii: "The faithful ought to gain a constantly increasing assurance of their calling of God, by diligently examining their faith, and stirring it up afresh. For whoever does not grow in the experimental knowledge of Christ declines and falls back, or rather has never yet been in the right way. To this purpose serve the exhortations of S. Paul, in which pastors ought sedulously to exercise themselves. On the other hand, the election and grace of God, on which all depends, never fail: though we must teach the people to examine themselves, and see whether this election and this merciful will of God have taken effect, and been accomplished in them, or not: that is to say, that every one should know what he has received of Jesus Christ, and what is yet wanting to him of the knowledge of Christ—which consists in the renewal of the heart, rendering the soul spiritual, heavenly, and pure."

A.D. 1532.

Assurance.

On one topic, and that a topic on which we have had occasion to remark that the reformers

Uses of the Law.

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in general excelled,[1] we regret to find here some deviation from their usual doctrine—of which the modern rage for improving upon the standing faith of the church has not failed to avail itself.[2] I refer to the subject of the uses of the moral law in subserviency to the gospel: and here particularly to its use in bringing home to the conscience "the knowledge of sin." The principles of Luther upon this point, in opposition to Agricola, have been distinctly stated:[3] and those of Melancthon were in exact accordance with them.[4] But in the Bernese articles the subject is treated with much indistinctness. The moral law and the ceremonial are not properly discriminated,[5] and the knowledge of sin is declared to be "by Jesus Christ and his passion, without the law."[6] Yet, not very consistently with this, the necessity of teaching children the ten commandments, and of instructing the people in them "after the manner of our Saviour in his sermon on the mount, is confessed;" "the whole of religion" is declared to be "clearly comprehended in the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the decalogue;" and the ten commandments are spoken of as enabling men. "better to appre-

[1] Vol. ii. 227.

[2] (Dublin) Christian Examiner for 1830, p. 264.

[3] Vol. i. 328-9.

[4] Vol. ii. 234. The reader may be referred to the word *Law*, in the index of each volume.

[5] Considering the sentiments which are promulgated under names of some eminence, it may not be superfluous to refer churchmen to our seventh article.

[6] Chap. viii.—xiii. Let the reader compare the declaration of the apostle, Rom. iii. 20, vii. 7; and the whole of his argument in the greater part of the first three chapters, to shew men their need of the Saviour by convincing them of sin.

hend their corruption and their sins, and to retain them in their remembrance." [1] A. D. 1532.

A propensity, which lamentably evinces itself in our own times, and from which it may be thought these articles themselves are not perfectly free in the instance here stated, is justly lamented in chapter xix. "One thing which has ever corrupted the church is, that each person wishes to teach *something new*;[2] and there are few who listen to the true teacher, the Holy Spirit: in opposition to which (propensity) we have here proposed the simple doctrine of Jesus Christ, in which we desire by God's help to persevere; and with it to make use of all other means, the sacraments, baptism, the supper, and the word, without corrupting the observance of them by a vain curiosity."

Of the sacraments it is affirmed, (c. xx.) that they are "not simple signs, but signs accompanied by a secret virtue from God. In baptism, for instance," it is argued, "the minister baptizes with water, and Jesus Christ at the same time baptizes with his Spirit. It is true we baptize our *infants*; but this is to receive them externally into the church of God by our baptism, in the hope that the Saviour, of his infinite goodness, will manifest his grace towards them by baptizing them with his Holy Spirit. And this baptism of infants we hold for a true sacrament. For our faith rises above externals, and above times and places.... The effect of the sacrament in the infant does not yet take place: but it takes place in us who are present"—namely in the profession and Sacraments.

[1] Chap. xxxv, xxxvi.

[2] See, in vol. i. 403, Luther's thanksgiving that he had "never discovered or proposed any *new* doctrine."

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confirmation of our faith.—We may observe, that in the next chapter baptism is directed to be administered "near the (communion) table."

In this paragraph, the first sentence appears clearly, from what follows, to refer to adults "rightly receiving" the sacrament. Respecting infants, their reception into the church (a high privilege, *tending* strongly to further and eternal blessings,) is *certain:* their sanctification in heart and life is an object of humble but lively *faith* and *hope*. The former privilege as well as the latter blessing, (though one is not to be confounded with the other,) is called by the church *regeneration*, on account of the *change of state* which it produces—the importance of which will be better appreciated if we compare the situation of heathen children with that of our own. Such appears to be the doctrine of this article; and no bad statement of the doctrine of our own church upon the subject.

Admonishing rulers.

After many good observations on the censuring of faults in the people, the ministers prepare the rulers for faithful and plain dealing, in the following terms: (c. xxx:) "Thus, sovereign lords, when any of our number shall say any thing that may sound sharp and too high against your excellencies, personally or officially considered, or against the bailiffs and governors of the country districts, it will be honourable and glorious for you not to take it in ill part; but to consider by whose order, and in whose name the preacher speaks—that he delivers the word of Jesus Christ, as his messenger and ambassador. . . . It is the will of God to lay low our worldly wisdom in various ways—sometimes by means of a simple and unlearned man, who might seem fit only for a humble village pastor—one whom we should

hold in little esteem. In such a case you yield *the obedience of faith*, if you bear his admonition with entire patience, as a message sent you from God for your correction and improvement.... The magistrate stands in a dangerous situation: almost every one flatters him to his face, and says what may please him: but not all are so well disposed to him in their hearts as their words would imply.... We must always regard the mind and intention of him that addresses us. *The wounds of a friend* are salutary, but *the kisses of an enemy* tend to ruin." [1] A. D. 1532.

Frequent conferences of ministers on the scriptures, their own duties, and the various subjects connected with their profession, are recommended: in which however they are reminded how much it behoves them to guard against the pride, anger, and opinionativeness of persons bent upon maintaining what they have once advanced. "When we find in any man," it is observed, "some portion of Jesus Christ and his gifts, however small it may be, we should thank God for it, and act kindly towards him, that we may lead him forward, and not extinguish the spark that has been kindled." Indeed "all our conversation with all men should breathe this spirit—the spirit which becomes those who feel in their hearts a lively zeal for the glory of God and the kingdom of Jesus Christ." [2]—"We ought to preach in a spirit of devotion, and with ardent Conferences of ministers.

[1] There is little need in the present day to point out the restrictions which the subject of this paragraph requires. The preacher, whether admonishing magistrates or people, must take care that what he delivers is agreeable to the word of God, and that his present application of it is warranted by that word.

[2] Chap. xxxix.

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charity for our hearers, to amend them, and build them up in God. Discourses delivered in this spirit make a good impression. In them the sheep of Christ hear the voice of the true shepherd: they recognise him in those whom he deputes, and follow him."[1]

Their conduct.

On the *conduct* of ministers we read thus: (c. xlv:) "We who preach the cross of Jesus Christ ought *to bear about with us in our mortal body the dying of the Lord Jesus*, and effectually to prove, by a heavenly life, his resurrection[2]—to which we are to bear witness. But this we cannot do if we attach our hearts to the world. We ought to have our home in heaven, as those who are *risen with Christ*. It is by this means that we are to excite our churches to follow those things which are true, reasonable, just, pure, lovely, laudable[3]....Thus we shall be prepared to appear with joy before the judgment-seat of Christ, and shall obtain the praise of having fulfilled our ministry."

Edict of the council.

The edict of the council gives a full sanction and confirmation to the whole, and breathes much Christian feeling. After adverting fully to the evils which had hitherto prevailed, the rulers of Berne declare: "For these reasons, beginning with our own body, we have made serious remonstrances one with another: we have anxiously examined ourselves concerning the spirit by which each of us is influenced towards Almighty God and towards his gospel; to ascertain whether, at the bottom, we have more at heart the preservation of our lives, honours, and estates, than the possession of the heavenly and eternal life which was purchased for us by Christ Jesus....So far from being

[1] c. xli. [2] 2 Cor. iv. 10. [3] Phil. iii. 20. iv. 8.

warranted in any relaxation, or in taking any offence at our profession, by reason of the troubles which have befallen us, we acknowledge ourselves bound and engaged anew to uphold the gospel, and to maintain a conduct becoming it, among ourselves, and, as far as our authority extends, and the Lord shall give us grace, among our subjects." A. D. 1532.

Happy is it when such a spirit harmoniously animates those who have the rule or guidance of others in things spiritual and temporal! Much right feeling and heavenly wisdom appear to have prevailed on this occasion: and it gives us the most sincere pleasure to find, that, while the Bernese were zealous, as we have seen and shall see them, in promoting reformation among their neighbours, they shewed themselves so anxious that it should be perfected, and should produce its full effects among themselves at home.

CHAPTER XXII.

HISTORY OF GENEVA — REFORMATION ESTABLISHED — INDEPENDENCE ACHIEVED AND SECURED.

HAVING thus collected all such information as appeared most interesting relative to the Swiss cantons, till the period when the reformation obtained a firm footing in Geneva, we now turn to that new scene of its operations.

Account of Geneva.

The city of Geneva, with its small territory, was not till our own times reckoned among the cantons of Switzerland, but only among their allies. The era of its reformation was that also of the establishment of its liberty. At the commencement of the sixteenth century this little state, insignificant till these events laid the foundation of its celebrity, was placed under a very complicated and anomalous government. Three separate powers, the citizens, the bishop, and the duke of Savoy, claimed and exercised their respective jurisdictions within it, which could be ill blended together. Charles III, at this time duke of Savoy, had formed the design of making himself master of the government; and for this purpose he, from the year 1510 to 1535, incessantly harassed the city, leaving no method of force or stratagem untried by which

he could hope to advance his object:[1] but at the date last mentioned his attempts, wrongfully to grasp more than belonged to him, ended in the final loss of what he had possessed. The foundation of the Genevese liberties was laid in an alliance, which these machinations compelled the citizens to form, with the cantons of Berne and Friburg, in the year 1526. For the greater part of the time these struggles appear to have had no connexion with religion. A. D. 1526.

Tendencies to Reformation.

But several causes now concurred to make the friends of liberty lend no unwilling ear to the proposals of reformation in the church. Of these causes one was the same which wrought in so many other places, but no where seems to have exhibited itself in greater force than in these parts. I refer to the extreme profligacy of the Romish clergy.[2] As one instance we may mention, that the bishop of Geneva (Peter de la Beaume, who afterwards, on some other ground than that of merit, obtained a cardinal's hat,[3]) had the infatuation, in these critical times, and amid these dangerous proceedings, forcibly to carry off, and that during the season of lent, the daughter of a respectable family, for whom 1527.

[1] In the course of these contests the people of Geneva were often subjected to great cruelties. Among the rest their territory was long infested by the conspiracy of the Gentlemen of the Spoon, (de la Cuillier,) so called from the badge of a gold or silver spoon. It consisted of the nobles and other principal inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud in the interest of the duke of Savoy, who, with their dependents, way-laid, plundered, or even murdered the Genevese, when they issued from their town, and such persons as held communication with them. The bishops of Geneva and Lausanne joined, or even perhaps originated this confraternity. Ruchat, ii. 273—275. iii. 193, 194. iv. 125. Spon, i. 190, 191, 198, 204-5, &c.

[2] Ruchat, in his Preliminary Discourse, and in many other parts.

[3] Ruchat, iv. 295.

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he had conceived a criminal passion. The fact was notorious; and he was compelled to restore the young woman to her friends by the threats of the populace, who tumultuously surrounded his palace.[1] Another fact, which served to open the way for the reformers was, that the adherents of the duke of Savoy, finding the weapons of worldly warfare less successful than they could have wished, sought to enlist those of the church on their side, and for this purpose induced the archbishop of Vienne, as metropolitan of the district, to issue an excommunication against the citizens of Geneva. But this perversion of spiritual power, to support civil despotism, only produced a revulsion against the authority which thus abused its trust. All future recognition of the archbishop of Vienne or his ecclesiastical court, as well as the reception of any apostolical letters except from their own bishop, was forbidden at Geneva under severe penalties.[2]

F. Bonnivard. 1528.

The following anecdote may shew the spirit which had now begun to spread itself. Francis Bonnivard, prior of S. Victor's, at Geneva, and the author of a Chronicle of that state, going on an embassy from the citizens to Berne, found the sentence of excommunication against the Genevese posted on the doors of the churches in some places through which he had to pass. His curiosity prompted him to go up for the purpose of reading it, when he was reminded by his associates, that if he read the paper he would become obnoxious to its denunciations. He replied, "If you have unjustly banished the Mamelukes," (a name given to

[1] Sculteus, p. 180. Ru. ii. 277. Gerdes, ii. 365: from Spanheim's Geneva Restituta, and the Chronicle of Roset.

[2] Ru. ii. 270.

the partizans of Savoy, as the enemies of liberty,) "you are yourselves excommunicated by God, and it is his curse that you should fear, and not the curse of men. But, if you had good reason for what you have done, the archbishop has no power over your consciences: and, if he excommunicates you, pope Berthold" (meaning Haller, the reformer of Berne,) "will easily absolve you. Be assured," continued he, "that the conscience recognizes no other tribunal than that of God; that neither the devil nor the pope can do any harm except to those who stand in awe of them, and that their thunders are but an empty sound." Where such sentiments had found admission into the mind and utterance from the lips of an ecclesiastic, it can excite no surprise that great practical changes should speedily follow. "The discourses of the prior, and the exhortations of Berne," says Ruchat, "emboldened the Genevese to shake off the yoke of the pope, even long before they abandoned the church of Rome." [1] A. D. 1528.

A third cause which aided the introduction of the reformation into Geneva was, the great disputation of Berne in the year 1528. Three divines from Geneva had attended that discussion, and, besides their reports, many others had brought to the city accounts of what passed, which produced a considerable impression.[2]

Obstructions to reform.

On the other hand the people of Geneva had serious difficulties to encounter between their two allies, Berne and Friburg, whose joint friendship seemed indispensable to their safety, but who were zealously committed on opposite sides in the great question of religion. The Friburgers, distrusting the course which things were taking, threatened by a

[1] Spon, i. 195. Ruchat, ii. 277-8. [2] Ru. ii. 279.

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deputation despatched for the purpose, to break off their alliance with the Genevese, if the latter "abandoned the religion which their forefathers had professed for so many generations, to embrace that to which the jealousy and revenge of the apostate Luther had given birth." Those of Berne, on the contrary represented the great need which the church at large, and that of Geneva in particular, had of reformation, and that they ought to aim, as their best defence against the many and powerful enemies who surrounded them, to engage the favour of God on their side—for which no better means could be devised than the abolishing of superstition and the abuses of the church, and the restoration of the doctrines and practice of the apostles. From discordances among the citizens themselves, corresponding to these between their allies, and from the dangers that threatened on the one side and on the other, there arose such divisions even among those who were united in favour of civil liberty, that it can be attributed to nothing less than God's gracious designs with respect to this new and important seat of the reformation, that ruin did not ensue. In the present emergency, the parties agreed to have recourse to the counsels of Bonnivard, the enlightened prior of S. Victor's: and his answer pressed upon their attention some home truths, which served for a time to restrain both parties, and furnished matter for serious consideration. He told them, "that a change in the state of the church was certainly to be desired, but a change which should *correct* existing evils, and not merely disguise them: that a reformation was called for not only of the clergy, but of those who demanded it in them:

Advice of Bonnivard.

that, if the clergy were guilty of many faults, the people were chargeable with still more: that those who were themselves loaded with crimes were not the persons to undertake the correction of others: that what men of this description hated in the clergy was not so much their sins as their preferments: that they sought not the good of the state, but liberty to indulge their passions without restraint: that it behoved them to consider, that if they expelled the Romish clergy, and received the reformed ministers in their stead, they would not meet with such connivance as at present—for, while the former pressed obedience to the orders of the pope, and neglected the commandments of God, the latter admitted only the commandments of God, and paid no regard to any thing else. They ought therefore deliberately to inquire, whether they had made up their minds to reform their lives as well as their creed: if they had, they might go boldly forward: but, if not, they ought to talk no more of reformation. The heads of the state, if they meant to reform the clergy, must first set a virtuous example themselves: and, in short, there could be no better point at which to begin than for each one to reform himself."[1] A. D. 1528.

Let the reader, when he comes to the history of Calvin and his conflicts with the *libertine* friends of reformation, bear in mind the picture here drawn by this admirably sensible and honest monk. Too faithful a likeness did it appear that he had here sketched of some of the

[1] Ruchat, ii. 280—283. Spon, i. 194. For a more full account of the transactions which have been here slightly sketched, the reader may be referred to Spon, i. 111—196, Ruchat, i. 421—453. ii. 266—285, and the earlier parts of Spanheim's Geneva Restituta.

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earliest zealots for reformation at Geneva. But then the picture is faithful on the other side also—in the representation it makes of the reformed ministers, who found in those zealots not less determined enemies than in the papists themselves. The scene is from the first striking and instructive. Three parties of frequent occurrence appear upon the stage together: the adherents of formality, superstition, and self-righteousness—those who contend for the grace of the gospel, in the hope of finding in it a licence for sin—and the faithful servants of God, equally opposed to both.

Reformation deferred.

But little actual progress however was yet made in the introduction of reformation at Geneva. The citizens were too much occupied in defending themselves against the various attempts of the duke of Savoy, to give a deliberate attention to any other subject. In 1530 open warfare commenced, and the duke formed the seige of the city: but he was obliged immediately to raise it again by the prompt assistance of the allies. The treaty of S. Julien followed: which, though it was not observed, had important consequences, since by it the duke pledged the Pays de Vaud to the Bernese and the Friburgers; an arrangement which ultimately transferred the sovereignty to them, (chiefly to the former,) and thus produced the reformation of that country. The Bernese however grew weary of the alliance, because it both subjected them to constant trouble, and entailed great expences, which the poverty of Geneva was unable to reimburse. They even induced Friburg to join in proposing to the Genevese to surrender their alliance with the two cantons, in which case it was supposed terms might be made for them with the duke of

Savoy: but, the people shewing that heroic determination to maintain their liberty, which proved them worthy of the blessing, these cantons resolved still to support them—which Berne did most heartily and effectively when the reformation was received amongst them. A D. 1530.

Nearly all the traces that we find of the progress of reformed principles during the year 1530 are furnished by the two following notices: first, that, the council having decreed, on the instances made to them, that the fast of lent should be more strictly observed, and mass more diligently attended, the friends of reformation found themselves numerous enough, and supported by sufficient authority, to treat the decree with neglect: and, secondly, that the council was so far wrought upon by the complaints made of the disorderly lives of the clergy, as to threaten that, unless they reformed their manners, their revenues should be sequestered and applied to charitable uses. Traces of it in 1530.

There is reason however to believe that by this time there were at Geneva not a few, unknown to history, who sighed for reformation, not only from better principles than those of some who have been alluded to, but upon higher views than any of a mere worldly kind; and who were willing even to suffer for their religion. We find Farel thus writing from Granson to Zwingle, 1 October 1531, only ten days before the death of the great reformer: "I learn that Geneva has thoughts of embracing Jesus Christ. Were they not restrained by the fear of the Friburgers, they would receive the gospel without further delay. Would that others had as much at heart the cause of Jesus Christ, as those of Friburg shew themselves to have the interests of the pope! The 1531,

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papists of Geneva, reckoning upon the protection of these allies, imprison the faithful without a hearing, and do them many injuries, no one forbidding it." [1]

The year 1532 is to be considered as the era of the effectual introduction of the reformation into Geneva. Ruchat, in entering upon the account, notices the obstacles which opposed it, and which were surmounted here, as contrasted with the lately promising circumstances of Soleure, where the same cause soon after utterly failed; properly calling upon us to remark the sovereign and all powerful providence of God, which orders all these events, and to whose grace, and not to the counsels of man, the gospel owes its success. In the first place, the clergy of Geneva, with the bishop at their head, (who shared the sovereignty of the city,) were powerful, bigoted, and in every sense unenlightened. Then the manners of the people in general (as Bonnivard had plainly told them,) were extremely corrupt. The state had still to maintain a perpetual conflict against the duke of Savoy. Geneva moreover was removed to a distance from the principal reformed states of Switzerland, which might have afforded it example, encouragement, and assistance; and was environed by the subjects of Savoy, who were equally hostile and superstitious. Berne alone urged it forward; while Friburg, its other ally, no less zealously opposed its progress. Yet under all these untoward circumstances the word of God entered and prevailed; and occurrences present themselves which illustrate the workings of his providence and grace, and which will consequently interest the Christian

and 1532.

[1] Ruchat, iii. 191—248, iv. 123—144, 149, 150. Spon, i. 196—213.

mind.—The clergy weakened their own influence and alienated the hearts of the people from them, not only by their vicious lives, (as already stated,) but by refusing to contribute to the expences necessarily incurred in resisting the duke: and such were the sentiments of the times, that the government would have esteemed it sacrilege to compel them! In the beginning of the summer, a jubilee, which with its concomitant indulgences the pope was shortly to publish, occasioning much conversation, printed placards were posted during the night, offering a general and free pardon to all sinners, "on the sole conditions of repentance and a lively faith in Jesus Christ." This drew much attention, excited some disturbance, brought a remonstrance from Friburg, and issued in a decree of the council, prohibiting the introduction of any novelties. The number and influence of the reformed having however much increased, even among the members of the council, the decree was the same month followed by an address to the grand vicar of the bishop, (the abbot of Beaumont,) requesting him to cause the preaching in all the churches to be "conformed to the pure doctrine contained in the gospel, without the intermixture of fables and human inventions—that all might live in perfect harmony as their forefathers had done." Alas! the council knew not the incompatibility of the two parts of their address—of the end proposed and the means pointed out for attaining it. In such a state of things as prevailed at Geneva, it was impossible that "the pure doctrine of the gospel" should come without producing, in the first instance, "division" rather than union, or even introducing "not peace but a sword." Many in all ages

A. D. 1532.

Jubilee. June.

Measure of the Council.

The citizens not to be disturbed.

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are unwilling to go to the expence of cordially receiving the gospel. They are unwilling even for the sake of truth and salvation, to encounter the disquiet which its first entrance either into the heart, or the family, or the community must very probably occasion. They overlook our Lord's plain warnings upon the subject, and will not believe that it can be necessary to admit any thing which disturbs the "harmony" in error, or the repose of spiritual death, which has hitherto prevailed among them. Thus they put from them the word of life, which might cause indeed a temporary uneasiness, but which can alone give "quietness and assurance for ever."[1]

Farel and Saunier visit Geneva.

In the month of September, Farel accompanied by Anthony Saunier, like himself a native of Dauphiny, who had been his associate in a deputation to the Waldensian churches, visited Geneva at the instance of the council of Berne, and protected by letters of recommendation from them.[2] They held repeated conferences with the friends of reformation. The canons and other ecclesiastics immediately took the alarm, and at their instigation the strangers were cited before the council; where some scrupled not to reproach them as common disturbers, who had nothing but mischief in view. The production of their letters of recommendation from the lords of Berne repressed these insults: yet they were forbidden to unsettle the minds of the people, and to

[1] See Matt. x. 34—39. Luke xii. 49—53. Such is the paramount importance of the gospel that none of these effects, no nor even the most cruel persecutions clearly foreseen and foretold, were for a moment to delay its promulgation.

[2] Above, vol. i. p. 151. This is said to have taken place on the return of Farel and Saunier from the churches of the vallies: but Ruchat (iv. 302,) assigns reasons for questioning the correctness of that statement.

create divisions, by preaching any new doctrine. Scarcely were Farel and his companion returned to their lodgings, when they received a citation to appear before the grand vicar and the episcopal council. The pretext was to demand of them an account of their doctrine, but the real design seems to have been to offer violence to their persons: which the senate apprehending, sent two of the syndics to accompany them, for their protection. These officers were directed to propose a discussion between the parties, and themselves to preside at it: but it was no part of the plan of the Romish clergy and their adherents to admit of discussion. "That," said the bishop's criminal judge, "would not answer our purpose." He added in Latin to the clergy: "*Si disputetur, totum nostrum mysterium evertetur*" —"If we enter into dispute, our whole mystery will be subverted." Farel was then interrogated, and was insulted with the most opprobrious epithets. To these he replied, "That he deserved them not: that he preached Christ Jesus as crucified for our sins, and raised again for our justification: and that whosoever believed in Him should have eternal life, but that he that believed not should be damned. Thus he came to preach to all who would give him the hearing: and here, said he, I am, ready to give account of my faith and my doctrine, and to maintain them unto death—relying on the sole power of God who hath sent me." On this one of the ecclesiastical judges rose and said, "He hath spoken blasphemy: we have no need of witnesses: he is guilty of death." Farel replied, "Speak in the words of God, and not of Caiaphas:" while others cried out, "To the Rhone, to the Rhone with him! kill him, kill

A. D. 1532.

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him! kill this new Luther:" adding, "It is better that this wicked Lutheran should die, than that all the people should be disturbed."—

Compelled to withdraw.

They were then ordered to withdraw into an adjoining gallery, where a servant of the grand vicar snapped an arquebuse at Farel, but happily without effect. In the end they were commanded to leave the city; which they did, and returned to Orbe and Granson.[1]

Anthony Froment.

But He, who had inspired the minds of many in Geneva with a sincere desire to be instructed in the gospel of Christ, did not long leave them without a teacher. Dauphiny supplied them with a third minister in the person of Anthony Froment, or Frumentius—whose name was thought auspicious, as corresponding to that of the first missionary and bishop who had successfully spread the gospel among the Ethiopians, or Abyssinians.[2] This young man, now only twenty-two or twenty-three years of age, had been for some time a disciple of Farel, and the companion of his travels, and often of his sufferings. Farel, acquainted with his piety and zeal, thought him a proper person to water the seed that had been sown at Geneva, and to watch over its growth. He represented to him, that, as his name was yet but little known, he might go thither with the less risk: and that for any thing further he must repose on the providence of God. Froment for some time resisted the importunities of Farel, distrusting his own competence: but at length he suffered himself to be prevailed upon, and in the month of November, 1532, took up his abode at Geneva. He first addressed himself to those whom Farel had especially marked

[1] Ru. iv. 294—307. Spon, i. 213—217.

[2] Milner, ii. 103-4.

out to him: but he found their courage so fallen, and their zeal so faint, that he was reduced to the greatest embarrassment, and thinking his life in danger resolved to retreat. But as he was actually leaving the city he felt himself so much pressed in conscience not to desert his work, that he could not proceed. Settling himself down therefore again in the place, he began to revolve the means by which he might hope to do good without attracting observation, or exciting opposition which he might not be able to withstand: and he resolved to imitate the example of his friend and master, who had introduced the gospel at Aigle under the cover of teaching a school. By undertaking to teach the reading and writing of the French language in a short time, as also to give advice in medicine, he drew around him a considerable number of persons, both youth and adults; and he took occasion to introduce to their notice the truths of the gospel. Those who had themselves found the comfort and benefit of his doctrine, brought their relations and friends to hear it from him: so that the effect of his labours began to be widely spread. This called forth reproach and opposition: and he was particularly charged with exerting a magical influence over such women as resorted to hear him.—Happily a coadjutor was now raised up to him. This was Christopher Bouquet, a Franciscan, whose preaching in the season of advent added considerably to the number of those who listened to regular sermons from Froment, in a room where he was accustomed to meet them.[1] Thus

A. D. 1532.

Christopher Bouquet.

[1] A considerable party usually adjourned after Bouquet's sermon to hear Froment; in which practice they met with no discouragement from the former. On one occasion a

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light was diffused. Those into whose minds it had in any degree found entrance met together, and discussed among themselves the questions which severally interested them. They read various small controversial pieces against prevailing errors: but especially they applied themselves to the examination of the scriptures, that from them they might be able to distinguish what religious doctrines and usages were really of divine origin, and what were mere human additions or corruptions.

In all this we have a beautiful and affecting picture of the manner in which the work of God is carried on. The minds of the people were gradually prepared for the labours of the faithful though humble minister: while he was by the same divine influence, without either his own knowledge or theirs, prepared for their service. Discouragement nearly weighed him down in the onset, and he was ready to resolve, "I will speak no more in thy name" in this place. But the Lord was "stronger than he, and prevailed." He "could not forbear" or withdraw: and thus success eventually crowned his labours.[1]

Madame Glaudine.

One instance of remarkable conversion, by the joint means of the preaching of Froment and the reading of the scriptures, is recorded. The priests had spread among the ignorant and superstitious people the idea that the teachers

much larger number thus proceeded to Froment's room than could gain admission: on which a crowd collected about the door, and began to cry, "To the Molard!" (the market place,) "To the Molard!" whither hurrying Froment away they placed him on a fishmonger's stall, and called upon him "to preach to them the word of God." He accordingly did so, not readily yielding to the interference of a police officer who required him to desist. Spon, i. 219. Ru. iv. 317-8.

[1] Jerem. xx. 7—13.

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of the new doctrines were no other than magicians, who had hosts of evil spirits at their command to accomplish their purposes. This notion had taken full possession of the mind, among others, of a Genevese lady of the name of Glaudine; so that, regarding Froment as an arch-sorcerer, she resisted all the solicitations of those who would have had her go to hear him. At length however she suffered her curiosity and the solicitations of her friends to overcome her fears, and she resolved for once to visit his preaching-room—using the precaution to fortify herself by every preservative against enchantment, such as the Agnus Dei, relics, crossings, and the like. Thus protected she entered the room, and placing herself in front of the preacher, repeatedly traced upon her person the sign of the cross, and ardently commended herself to God and to the care of the saints. On listening to Froment, her first feeling was that of surprise at hearing nothing which savoured of incantation. By the time his discourse was ended, her courage was so much increased that she ventured to speak to him, and to ask if he was satisfied of the truth of what he had delivered? He replied that he was ready to maintain it. She asked, Could he prove it from the gospel? On his answering in the affirmative, she further inquired, with respect to the mass, Was it not founded in scripture? He assured her that neither the name nor the thing was to be found in the New Testament. She inquired, Was that book from which he had taken his text the New Testament? and, being told that it was, she begged that he would permit her to read it. The loan of the book being granted, she shut herself up in her chamber, and, scarcely allowing herself

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time to take refreshment, did nothing for some days but read the sacred volume. The more she read, the more were her admiration and the ardour of her soul excited. She wept abundantly: she prayed: she discovered her errors, and renounced her superstitions. At the end of three days she sent for Froment to her house; she conferred with him; and, after having again heard him preach, she avowed her reception of the evangelical doctrine, blessing God most earnestly for having thus enlightened her with the knowledge of his truth. Nor was this all: she gained over her husband, who had been no less bigoted than herself, and others of her relations; and abounded in all the offices of Christian charity and kindness to those who suffered for their religion's sake. We regret to add, that this good woman, influenced by an unsuspecting simplicity, and by the ardour of the female character, which is liable to be imposed upon by pretenders to purer doctrine and more elevated devotion than are commonly attained, was afterwards for a time entangled in the snares of the Anabaptists. She was enabled however ultimately to detect the new error into which she had fallen, and to extricate herself from it.

Extraordinary child.

We may mention in this connexion a remarkable instance, which occurred at Geneva, of juvenile talent and acquaintance with the scriptures—an attainment at that time so rare. The daughter of Claude Bernard, a zealous promoter of reformation, became so eminent for these distinctions at the early age of seven or eight years, as to draw general attention, and to lead the priests, whom she frequently confounded with her questions, to represent

her as possessed. Among other visitors, we read of the ambassadors of the king of France, in passing through Geneva, spending three hours in conversation with her, and departing filled with astonishment. Instances of this kind may excite our admiration, but we need little wish to see them repeated in the case of our own children. Such endowments are dangerous to the possessor: and they are often treated with great want of judgment, and astonishing forgetfulness of the weakness and depravity of human nature, by those who ought rather cautiously to guard than ostentatiously to display the little prodigies. Many instances, it is to be feared, of precocious religious knowledge, and apparent piety, have proved abortive through the mistaken kindness of their admirers. A. D. 1532.

"Ah! spare your idol. Think him mortal still."

"I am not proof," said a venerable Christian minister,[1] at nearly eighty years of age, "I am not proof against the flattery of a child."

But the progress of the reformed at Geneva was now become too notorious not to excite the fears and the indignation of the Romanists. Hence arose some tumultuous proceedings: on occasion of the first of which the council, though it evidently charged the priests with the chief blame, and called on the grand vicar to visit them with punishment, yet, anxious to preserve the peace, ordered Froment to give over preaching, and to quit the city; and directed the people to content themselves with the preaching of Bouquet. Froment accordingly, after some attempts on his own part Froment driven from Geneva: 1533.

[1] The late Rev. John Newton.

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and on that of his friends to obtain a reversal of this order, retired to Yvonan.[1]

and Bouquet.

Bouquet, though a protestant in heart, had hitherto preached with so much caution that both parties alike went to hear him: but after the departure of Froment, like a man who felt his real principle now called into more vigorous exercise by the responsibility which devolved upon him, he became open and decided in the avowal of his sentiments. He exposed the doctrine of the mass and the worship of the saints: and by so doing irritated the ecclesiastics. Yet in such esteem was he held, that the council ordered that he should preach the lent sermons, and should receive the stipend (as it would seem was customary,) for so doing out of the provision made for the parochial clergy. This however drew from the Friburgers so strong and menacing a remonstrance, that the council found it expedient to recommend Bouquet rather to give his services, during lent, to some other of those places which solicited them. At the same time they voted him an honourable gratuity on his departure.

Scriptures allowed.

The council had silenced the complaints of their allies of Friburg by an avowal of zeal against all innovation: yet, two or three months after, they, perhaps without being aware of the consequences, took a step than which, as experience had shewn, none could more effectually further the cause of reformation. This was, publicly allowing the introduction of the New Testament in the French, or vernacular language. The version they admitted is supposed to have been that of Peter Robert Olivetan, a relation of Calvin, and like him a native of

Olivetan.

[1] Ruchat, iv. 307—319. Spon, i. 217—220.

Noyon—whom we shall have occasion to notice again presently. It would seem that one resolution of a synod of the churches in the vallies of Piemont had been, that a new translation of the scriptures, both of the Old Testament and the New, should be made for their use, and that the work should be committed to the care of Olivetan. We accordingly find that he published at Neuchâtel, in the year 1535, the first French Bible that was ever printed in Switzerland.[1] A. D. 1533.

Froment now made an attempt to return to Geneva: but meeting on the bridge a popish procession, and refusing to kneel before the cross, he was on the point of being precipitated into the Rhone by a number of female zealots; when he was happily rescued by his friends. Farel also yielded to an invitation to visit the city again: but he was still so ill-treated, notwithstanding his protection from Berne, that he was obliged to withdraw. Through the goodness of God, however, the dispersion of the pastors did not draw after it the ruin of the flock. The reformed ceased not to meet among themselves, though they were under the necessity of holding their meetings by night. Here they prayed and read the scriptures together; such as were most competent undertaking to expound to their brethren. They likewise gladly availed themselves of the assistance of any strangers who happened to visit them. The duties of charity were in a becoming manner blended with those of piety; and they established a small fund for the relief of their poorer brethren, whether strangers or natives.—At one of these private meetings they Proceedings of the reformed.

[1] Ruchat, iv. 301, 321, 324. v. 353.

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for the first time celebrated the Lord's supper among themselves after the reformed manner, making use of John Guerin, a tradesman, but a man of zeal and piety, and well versed in the scriptures, as the distributor of the elements. This coming to the ears of the council, Guerin was banished, and retired to Montbelliard, and thence into the county of Neuchâtel; where he was received as a minister, and died in the year 1549.

Guerin.

Olivetan and others banished.

About this time also the following occurrence took place. A Dominican friar, preaching in the convent of his order, inveighed vehemently and scurrilously against "the Lutherans." Olivetan, before mentioned, who was now tutor in the family of a gentlemen of Geneva, was present; and, unable to hear with patience the calumnies of the preacher, he stood up and publicly answered him. This boldness, or as we may properly style it rashness, caused great disturbance, and might probably have cost its author his life, but for the vigorous interference of his friends.—He was banished, and withdrew to Neuchâtel. But for this sally of zeal, and for his translation of the scriptures, he became a marked man; and, being at Rome some years afterwards, poison was there administered to him, of which (1538.) he died at Ferrara.—Another person also, who had in a large company pronounced attendance on the mass to be an act of idolatry, was subjected to banishment.

Interference of Berne.

Two citizens of some rank[1] zealous for reformation, seeing the state in which things were, and that no one could now preach the doctrines of scripture without being subjected

[1] Baudichon and Claude Solomon, surnamed Pasta. Spon, i. 222, 215.

to banishment, went over to Berne, and solicited the interference of that canton. The council wrote a strong letter of remonstrance to the government of Geneva, intimating that, if they wished to preserve a good understanding with their ally, they must permit the preaching of the gospel. This letter produced a violent commotion. A large body of Roman catholics, incited by their priests, proceeded to the public hall, demanding that those who had made the application to Berne should be delivered up to justice. The measures of the magistrates not satisfying them, they took arms, and bound themselves by an oath to massacre "the Lutherans." They even closed the gates of the city, and brought artillery to bear upon the house [1] in which the leading reformers were assembled. The reformed, on the other side, armed in defence of their lives: and the most serious consequences were to be apprehended. Happily however the assailants were brought to a pause by the determined spirit manifested by those against whom they had vowed vengeance: and, by the zealous interference of some merchants of Friburg who happened to be present, peace was restored. It is to the credit of the reformed that they shewed the utmost readiness to listen to the overtures of the Friburgers, demanding nothing but to be permitted to live in peace: while the priests urged on their followers to acts of violence with such fury as made those strangers declare, that, though Romanists themselves, they would rather take their part with the reformed than with the priests.—The people at length, wrought upon by what they heard and wit-

A. D. 1533.

Tumults. March 30.

[1] That of Baudichon.

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nessed, came to the rational conclusion, "that it would be extreme folly in them to cut one another's throats to please the clergy: and that, if the latter had differences with the reformed, the two parties should be left to settle them between themselves—the proper way of doing which would be to dispute from the scriptures, and not to fight with the sword."[1]

Each party gave hostages to keep the peace, and the council the next day prescribed and published the terms which were to be observed between them. But treaties could at best only for a time tie their hands, while their hearts were alienated, and their differences were so material; the one party being resolved, if possible, to maintain the profitable monopoly they had hitherto enjoyed, and their opponents bent on dissolving it. Accordingly we soon read of fresh tumults, in one of which a canon of the cathedral church, who, clad in complete armour, had been the principal instigator of the disturbance, lost his life. This fact excited loud outcries, and demands of ample vengeance, not only on the part of the relations of the deceased, but from the inhabitants of Friburg, of which place he had been a burgess. The Friburgers wished to make the event the occasion of definitively excluding the reformation from Geneva, and even to bind the citizens by oath to make no changes in religion; while the Bernese wisely recommended toleration and liberty of conscience as the only means of appeasing the discords that existed. And this remedy they at length placed upon its true and solid ground —namely, "that at the day of judgment each

May.

[1] Ruchat, iv. 319—334. Spon, i. 220—225.

individual shall answer for his own faith alone, and not for that of another."[1] A.D. 1533.

Visit of the Bishop. July.

The Friburgers thought that it might promote their views, if the bishop of Geneva, with the concurrence of the people, should revisit the city, from which he had now been some years absent. The Genevese felt themselves in duty bound to welcome him, both as their spiritual superintendent and, in a certain sense, their prince: and they accordingly gave him a reception becoming his rank. But, his conduct among them evincing a design to usurp authority which did not belong to him, and in fact to acquire the sovereignty, he met with merited resistance. He in consequence withdrew at the end of fifteen days, no more to return to the place. So long as he and the duke of Savoy were competitors for the same supremacy in Geneva, and while the bishop had any hope of securing that preeminence for himself, he chose to act independently of the duke: but, that hope having now failed, he henceforth united his fortunes with those of Savoy.

His mandates.

October.

The bishop had not however quitted Geneva with an avowal of these hostile intentions: rather he had held out a promise shortly to return. Accordingly he continued to address letters and episcopal mandates to the city. One of these, prohibiting any changes to be made in the accustomed mode of preaching, had the effect of drawing from the council an order, "that only the gospel should be preached, and nothing delivered from the pulpit which could not be proved from scripture"—an order which was the never-failing indication of the progress of reformed principles. Another mandate,

[1] Ru. v. 49, 61.

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1534. Jan. 1.

which he desired to have "published with the sound of the trumpet," prohibited "the reading of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue." It was followed the beginning of the next year by one from his grand vicar, commanding all persons who possessed copies of the Bible, either in the French or the German tongue, "to burn them immediately, under pain of excommunication." But it was now too late to issue such injunctions at Geneva: and the impious order only produced effects the reverse of those which were intended. But well may the historian demand, "Was ever such a proceeding heard of among the followers of Mahomet or Zoroaster, or under any other profession of religion? It has been reserved exclusively for men calling themselves Christian priests, but who are assuredly *wolves in sheep's clothing*, to command the books which they themselves acknowledge as sacred —God's merciful gift to mankind to teach them the way to eternal life—to be committed to the flames. Yet such atrocities have been renewed in our own days.[1] Infidels will surely rise up in the judgment against such Christians, and will condemn them."[2]

Scriptures to be burned.

The advent preacher of this year, Guy Furbiti, a dominican and a doctor of the Sorbonne, who had been invited by the clergy, caused a considerable ferment by his invectives against the reformers, and by the consequences which followed from them. Froment and Alexander Camus, or Du Moulin, were present at one of his sermons, and offered to confute him. But the former was obliged to conceal

Du Moulin.

[1] And *we* may add, in our's also.

[2] Ruchat, v. 39—65, 71, 72. Spon, i. 226—231.

himself, and the latter being expelled the city, and going into France, some time after received the crown of martyrdom at Paris. The Bernese took up the quarrel, and insisted on Furbiti's being called to account, and required to prove his doctrine from the holy scriptures; in which case some of the reformed divines would be ready to meet him. The council of Geneva distrusted their own authority to adopt any such proceeding, and did not at last accede to it without many apologies to the grand vicar, protesting that they acted from necessity and not from choice. Furbiti also long resisted, denied that he could lawfully submit to such a demand without the consent of his superiors. He at length however altered his opinion, being convinced by the injunction of S. Peter, that we should "be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh us" concerning our faith: and hence he consented to enter into discussion with Farel, or Viret, or both. A disputation accordingly followed, which lasted three days, and was carried on with considerable spirit and acuteness, on the supremacy of the pope, the power of the church, and other points. When the prohibition of meats came under discussion, Furbiti, though he had enforced it in his sermons, with bitter invectives against those who neglected it, plainly confessed that he could not support it from scripture: and the dispute ended with his promising, in case he were permitted to preach again, to make reparation to those whom he had offended. He was accordingly sentenced to retract his errors in the pulpit, and agreed to do so. But, when placed there for the purpose, he did the very reverse: in consequence of which he was committed to prison;

A. D. 1534.

Disputation of Furbiti with Farel and Viret. Jan. 29.

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where he remained two years, till the reformation being fully established his release was no longer opposed.[1]

A tumult.

This disputation had been interrupted after the second day by a violent tumult, in which a reformed citizen was murdered in his shop, and two persons, whom the canons had endeavoured to conceal, were tried and executed as the murderers. One of them was a secretary of the bishop's: and his papers disclosed the carrying on of secret intelligence, on the part of the bishop and the duke of Savoy, with persons in the city, for the subversion of its liberties.[2] The bishop pretended to inhibit the proceedings against his secretary; but his inhibition met with the regard it deserved: and the discoveries now made did much to destroy his remaining power and influence in the city.

Preaching of the reformed Ministers.

These transactions had kept the deputies of Berne a considerable time at Geneva, and they had with them, as part of their retinue, the reformed preachers Farel, Viret, and Froment, who constantly preached in their lodgings. This indeed subjected them to considerable reproach as holding conventicles: and a lent preacher, Francis Coutelier, a Franciscan, not having very faithfully kept his engagement to the council, to abstain from inculcating the worship of the Virgin, the invocation of saints, purgatory, and prayers to the dead, and generally, whatever could not be proved from

Coutelier.

[1] Previously to the disputation, the Bernese had preferred charges against him, which he was held bound to answer. Ruchat reports them from the account published at the time. Ru. v. 96—128.

[2] Secret commissions had been issued by the bishop, particularly one to a citizen of Friburg to be governor for him in Geneva.

scripture: the deputies urged these considerations, together with that of settling the public mind on subjects respecting which information was desired, as reasons why their ministers should have a church assigned them to preach in. In vain did the council answer, that they had no power to grant this privilege; that it belonged exclusively to the bishop or his vicar: the urgency of the Bernese so far prevailed that the council at length declared, that, as they could not authorize, so neither would they obstruct the indulgence sought by their allies. Nothing more was necessary. Farel was that very day conducted by a numerous body of the citizens to the convent of the Franciscans, and in their church for the first time publicly preached the doctrine of the reformation on Sunday, March 1st, 1534. A. D. 1534.

Scruples of the Council.

To us it is amusing to see this scrupulous delicacy of the government towards the ecclesiastics; this fear of trenching upon their sacred prerogatives, however the united interests and wishes of the citizens might demand it. It would be sacrilege to make *them* contribute towards the public burdens: and it would be little less, either to appoint a discussion on the subject of religion, or to allow a pulpit to the chaplain of a friendly embassy! *They* certainly were in the extreme on one side, whether *we* may have deviated into the opposite extreme or not.

Friburg renounces the alliance of Geneva.

For some time it had been becoming more and more evident that Geneva must make its choice between its two allies, Berne and Friburg, which of them it would retain and which it would sacrifice. So great was the difference between them on the now generally interesting subject of religion, that it would

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clearly be impossible to preserve the friendship of both. In these circumstances the connexion with Berne must naturally or even necessarily be preferred, both because of the greater power of that state, the heavy debts owing to it from Geneva, and the increasing inclination of the people towards that system of religion which it supported. The Friburgers perceiving this, and thoroughly dissatisfied with the late pro-

April 28.

ceedings, now formally cancelled their treaties, and renounced that alliance which had subsisted between them and the Genevese for eight years; and which had during that time afforded considerable protection, and thus rendered essential service, to a little state, which amid conflicts and embarrassments was rising into independence and illumination. Many Roman-catholic inhabitants also at this time withdrew from the city, some of whom joined the bishop and the duke—prepared to wage war against their country. The consequence was, that, notwithstanding some slight disorders, occasioned as before by the hostility of the reformed against altars and images, a more peaceable state of things ensued within the city than had been known for a considerable time past. The reflection of Scultetus, or of his correspondent B. Turretin, on the dissolution of the alliance with Friburg leads us to notice the wise and merciful orderings of divine providence. "The love of liberty had united the two towns in the closest bonds: but liberty opened the door for religion, and *its* influence separated chief friends! But what is most remarkable is, that the alliance was continued so long as the independence of Geneva required it; and ceased when its dissolution promoted the reformation."

The Genevese at this time sent an embassy into

France to claim the release of two of their reformed citizens (Baudichon and Colomier, or Cologny,) who had been thrown into prison at Lyons: and they obtained their demand. But the event may the better deserve notice here on account of the character of one of the embassy, Schoeni, the banneret, or commander of the ordinary military force of his country. He was a young man, but of great merit and high promise. On his return from France he was seized with illness, of which he languished for some time and then died. It was supposed by some to have been the effect of poison administered to him at Lyons by a woman, who, as we shall see, soon afterwards suffered for a like crime perpetrated at Geneva. Throughout his illness, Schoeni expressed "sentiments of the most exalted piety and submission to the will of God." His death was esteemed a great public loss, and caused general regret. He furnishes another proof that the reformation of Geneva was not confined to forms and sentiments only.[1]

A. D. 1534.

Schoeni.

But, though the city enjoyed greater peace within its walls from the late changes, it was now cruelly harassed from without. The duke, the bishop, and those citizens who had lately withdrawn, from hostility to the reformation, all united their efforts, and they were sometimes seconded by those members of the same party who still remained within. The two former made repeated attempts, one while to seize the city by surprise, at others to reduce it by cutting off its supplies, and by intercepting those who were found going in or coming out. Many of the gentry of Savoy and the Pays de

Proceedings of the Duke of Savoy and the Bishop.

[1] Scultet. 191—193. Spon, i. 225—246, 249. Ruchat, v. 65—156, 213.

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Vaud collected their dependents, and laid waste the surrounding country. The malcontents who had left the city, having posted themselves in the castle of Peney, which belonged to the bishop, and was situate at about two leagues distance on the Rhone, thence infested the Genevese with every species of robbery and barbarity. On one occasion they even, with the mockery of a regular process, condemned, tortured, and burned alive a French protestant refugee, of the name of Peter Goudet, late one of the knights of Malta, who had been drawn out of the city by the treacherous promises of his uncle, a bigoted Romanist, who commanded a small place in the neighbourhood. At other times they put to death and quartered, as traitors, some citizens who had fallen into their hands; having, it is true, had an example of this kind set them by the government of Geneva, in the case of one of their own number who had been taken prisoner. Partly perhaps to justify such atrocities, the bishop, and afterwards, at the solicitation of the duke of Savoy, the pope, issued excommunications against the people of Geneva and all who should succour them.[1] The Genevese treated the bishop's excommunication with contempt; and they might have done the same by that of the pope, but for the encouragement it afforded to some of their neighbours still further to molest them.

Castle of Peney.

Episcopal court removed.

In the midst of these proceedings, the bishop removed his episcopal council, and his judicial

[1] Ruchat, v. 244, 260—263, 281, 284—288, 326-7, 412. The Bishop, on the expostulation of the Bernese, affected to condemn and even inhibit the proceedings of those at Peney: but both he and the duke really sanctioned them. Sculte. 197. Ru. v. 260. The duke avowed that his nobles were determined to extirpate the Lutherans, at Geneva and elsewhere. Ru. v. 399.

court from Geneva to Gex, a town under the dominion of the duke of Savoy. The council, having opposed the removal without being regarded, came to the solemn resolution, "that, as the bishop had abandoned the city to unite himself with its most deadly foe, and had undertaken divers enterprises against it, even to the length of levying war, they could no longer regard him as the pastor of the people, but as a declared enemy." They pronounced therefore that he had abdicated his authority, and that the episcopal chair was vacant—adding a formal appeal against him to the pope.[1]

A. D. 1534. Sept.

The see declared vacant.

Another source of very considerable loss and suffering, though a noble sacrifice to civil and religious liberty, to which existing circumstances, and the apprehension of having to sustain a regular siege, compelled the Genevese to submit, was the voluntary demolition of all the suburbs of their town, with the exception of that of S. Gervais, which they resolved to fortify with the ruins of the others. They thus sacrificed, besides private buildings, two parish churches out of seven, and three monasteries out of five, which had adorned or deformed their city. Ruchat here expresses his admiration that so small a state could ever support all the expences, and hold out against all the hardships, to which it was subjected.[2]

Suburbs of Geneva demolished. 1535. May.

All this time the Bernese failed not, by means of counsel and of every diplomatic exertion in their favour, to assist the people of Geneva: but their own circumstances rendered it necessary to avoid, if possible, having recourse

Conduct of the cantons towards Geneva.

[1] Ru. v. 213—237.

[2] Ru. v. 267, 282-3. Indeed Leti, a zealous partizan of the house of Savoy, made the same reflection at a much earlier period of the contest. Ru. iii. 244: anno 1530.

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to arms: and they urged their harassed ally to act upon the same plan, wherever self-defence did not absolutely require the contrary. The treatment which Geneva met with, and the course which should be pursued by Berne, were twice brought before the assembled cantons
Oct. 1534. of Switzerland. On the first occasion they pronounced that the treaty of S. Julien and the sentence of the diet of Payerne [1] (by which the duke of Savoy was to forfeit the Pays de Vaud to Berne and Friburg in case he broke his engagements relative to Geneva,) should be enforced; and they even urged Berne to support the
Jan. 1535. rights of Geneva: but in the latter, doubtless through the prevailing influence of the popish cantons, they decided that Geneva ought to agree to a truce; the bishop to be restored; and the duke suffered to return to the exercise of his rights: measures to which neither Geneva
Its answer to the Duke of Savoy. Sept. nor Berne would now agree.[2] To equivalent proposals from the duke himself the council of Geneva a few months after replied, "That they were resolved to sacrifice their property, their distinctions, their very children, and their own lives for the word of God: and that they would rather with their own hands set fire to the four corners of the city, than part with so precious and a sacred treasure for themselves and their families. And this resolution they begged might be attributed not to obstinacy, but to the reason of the case, since we are bound to support the truth and those who publish it. That, if however their ministers could be convicted from the word of God of fraud or falsehood, the council would readily consent to their being sacrificed to justice and the vengeance of their

[1] Made in the year 1530. Ruchat, iii. 237—241, and 245—248.

[2] Ru. v. 238. 247.

enemies. That the bishop might return to the town provided that, remembering his title, he would discharge the duties of his office according to the word of God: but that, as for images and other implements of superstition, they neither could nor ought to restore them, so long as Geneva was free, and consecrated to God alone." [1] A.D. 1535.

Such an answer shewed, what was unquestionably the fact, that, amidst all the troubles with which the city was environed, the reformation was making decided progress, and advancing rapidly towards a full and final establishment. The proportion of its friends to its opponents continually increased, by the conversion of some and the secession of others among the latter, and also by the influx of those who fled from the persecutions in France. Of the four syndics three now professed the reformed faith: and a decided majority of the council was on the same side. This governing body however persevered to the last, though pressed alike by the preachers and the people, in proceeding very gradually and with great caution. Farel, Viret, and Froment remained at Geneva, and preached regularly in the church of the Franciscans de Rive, and in that of S. Germain: occasionally also, though somewhat irregularly, (so as to draw down the rebuke of the council,) they presented themselves in the pulpits of other churches. The council further provided a favourable preacher, a Franciscan, to deliver the lent sermons in the year 1535: and, when the chapter refused to assign him a place in which to preach, they took upon themselves to appoint for him the church of S. Germain. During his residence in Geneva Progress of the Reformation.

[1] Ru. v. 367-8.

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he took up his abode with Thomas Vandel, the incumbent of that church, and one of the canons, who, though lately opposed to the reformed, now gave indications of a change of sentiments.[1]

Attempt to poison the reformed ministers.

A formidable attempt was however about this time made to cut off at one stroke the three reformed ministers. They all lived together in the house of Claude Bernard, above mentioned. A woman, who has been before alluded to, was suborned to come over from Lyons, under the pretence of quitting her country for her religion's sake: and she entered into the service of Bernard. Here, it is affirmed, she first destroyed the life of her mistress, and then mixed poison in a dish on which the three ministers were expected to dine. April. Happily Viret alone partook of it: but it nearly cost him his life at the time, and to the end of his days he is supposed to have suffered from the effects it produced upon his constitution. The woman suffered death for her crime: and in her examinations she accused a canon, of the name of Dorsiéres, and a priest, if not also some of higher rank in the church, as her instigators. The canon was allowed to clear himself on oath, and the other charges were suppressed. The three ministers were henceforth lodged, by order of the council, in the Franciscan convent, where they were accustomed to preach: and this change was productive of important consequences; for, what was no unfavourable testimony to the character and conduct of their guests, the greater part of the inmates of the convent, and among them the guardian, embraced the reformed faith.[2]

One of this body now adopted a measure

[1] Ruchat, v. 237—251. [2] Ib. v. 253—256, 268, 270.

A. D. 1535.

which proved the finishing step in the establishment of the reformation. The person referred to was James Bernard, a citizen of good family, brother of Claude, who has been just mentioned, and of Louis, who had been the incumbent of S. Peter's church, till he renounced popery and married, in the year 1534.[1] James had been a zealous defender of the old religion; but his intercourse with Farel had led him to a conviction of his errors; and he had determined to renounce the monastic life. He thought however it might be satisfactory and useful, before he took that step, to promote a disputation or public discussion at Geneva, such as had with so good effect taken place in other parts. He proposed therefore publicly to maintain, against all who might choose to come forward, a series of theses asserting the principal protestant tenets, in opposition to the errors of the Romanists. His theses entered into the most vital parts of the question at issue, and were to the following effect: 1. That justification is to be sought only in Jesus Christ, and not in our works: 2. That religious worship is to be offered only to God, and that the adoration of the saints and of images is idolatrous: 3. That the church is to be governed by the word of God alone, and that human traditions are both vain and pernicious: 4. That the sacrifice of Christ is the sole and sufficient offering for sin; and that the sacrifice of the mass and prayers for the dead are contrary to God's word: 5. That Jesus Christ is our only mediator; and that the doctrine of the intercession of the saints has been introduced by human authority alone.—The council of Geneva, having made much progress since the time

Disputation of Geneva. June. James Bernard.

[1] Ruchat, v. 215.

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of Furbiti, highly approved the proposal of Bernard, and used every means to promote the discussion. They themselves undertook to make the necessary arrangements; had the theses printed and published; invited men of learning, generally, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, to assist, promising to all full protection and freedom of speech; appointed eight members of their own body to preside, and four secretaries to take down all that should pass.—The bishop on the contrary did all in his power to prevent or obstruct the meeting, forbidding the clergy of his diocese to attend, under pain of excommunication. The disputation however was held in the great hall of the Franciscans, and lasted from the 30th of May to the 24th of June, Bernard himself, assisted by Farel and Viret, taking the lead on the one side, and on the other Peter Caroli a doctor of the Sorbonne, and John Chapuis a Dominican of Geneva. In the end, both Caroli and Chapuis acknowledged themselves vanquished, and declared publicly their conversion to the reformed faith.[1]—Caroli will claim our attention again. He was an unsound character, and afterwards relapsed to popery.

Effects of the Disputation.

The effect of this discussion is described as being astonishing. Almost the whole city went over to the reformed, and among them numbers of ecclesiastics, both monks and priests. Some additional persons indeed withdrew from the place, either into Savoy, or to join the bishop in Burgundy: and there seemed so much reason to apprehend that the canons might withdraw, and take with them the moveable goods and the writings of the cathedral, that the council ordered an inventory to be taken

[1] Ru. v. 270—277.

of these articles, and strict watch to be kept over them—considering "that they belonged to *the church of Geneva*, and that the magistrates and people," including now numbers of the clergy, "were not to relinquish that name, and yield it to a few ecclesiastics, because the former had judged it necessary to amend some points of doctrine and discipline agreeably to the holy scriptures."[1] A.D. 1535.

The reformation established by a public edict. August.

But, though the public voice had thus decided on the result of the disputation, the council, proceeding still in some degree on its maxims of caution, forbore to pronounce an opinion, or to adopt any definite measure, though repeatedly pressed upon the subject both by Farel and by many of the citizens. At length however the greater council of two hundred was formally summoned to take the question of religion into consideration. Farel appeared before it, and, addressing the members in that strain of vivid eloquence for which he was distinguished, entreated them no longer to delay the establishment of that reformation which was now almost universally acknowledged to be necessary and conformable to the word of God: concluding with a fervent prayer to Almighty God to direct them, on this important occasion, to such measures as should be for his glory and the salvation of the people.—The result was, that, after much deliberation, and some further references to the different convents and the clergy, a general edict was issued, on the 27th of August, 1535, enjoining public worship to be conducted according to the rules of the gospel, and prohibiting all popish idolatry.—From that time forward Farel, who might now be considered as the chief pastor

[1] Ru. v. 279, 280.

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of Geneva,[1] and his colleagues preached without restraint, administered the sacraments, and performed marriages and every kind of religious services, in all the churches: and henceforth the mass was no more publicly celebrated in Geneva. Subsequently indeed the reformed ministers for some time confined themselves to the churches of S. Peter (the cathedral,) and S. Gervais—not being able duly to serve more.[2]

The exposure which followed of fictitious relics, false miracles, and other frauds that had been practised, tended still further to confirm the reformation, and to alienate the minds of the people from the superstition by which they had been so long duped. It is well known what stress the Romish church lays on the sacrament of baptism as necessary to salvation —consigning the souls of infants who die unbaptized to what has been called Limbus. To redeem their children from this dreary and mysterious abode, parents had been willing to make costly offerings; and, to meet their wishes, or to give the monks the benefit of their liberality, various provisions had been made. Among others it had been happily discovered that deceased infants, brought to the image of the Virgin in the church of Notre Dame de Grace, were *so far* restored to life as to be capable of baptism! The fact was, by the arts there practised, some slight motion was given to certain parts of the dead body, or to a feather placed on its mouth; when the cry of "A miracle! a miracle!" was immediately raised, baptism was administered to the corpse thus wrought upon, and the worldly object of the interested practitioners, if not the spiritual one of the afflicted parents,

False Relics and Miracles.

[1] Ruchat, v. 420, 431-2. [2] Ru. v. 288—302.

was attained.[1]—Some of the false relics found in the cathedral church of Geneva have been elsewhere noticed: to recount others would be superfluous.[2] A. D. 1535.

A change was now made in the religious houses of the city. The monastery of the Franciscans de Rive was converted into a public school: the convent of S. Claire into an hospital. The goods of the church and the other religious establishments, after proper provision made for those who by these changes were displaced, were applied to the maintenance of the clergy, of schools, and of the poor.[3] Priests, monks, and nuns appear to have been treated very courteously, whether they chose to remain or to quit the city—except that those who made the former election were improperly restrained in the practice of their religious rites.[4] Suppression of Religious Houses.

Thus was the reformed religion fully established at Geneva. To commemorate the great event, as well as to supply a want which was urgently felt, the government henceforth exercised anew the right of coining money, (instead of receiving the currency of Savoy,) varying Celebration of the change of religion.

[1] Ru. v. 269, 270.

[2] See vol. i. 491.—Crabs are said to have been made to crawl about in certain parts of the churches and burying places, having lights attached to them: and these moving wonders, the people were taught to believe, were the souls of their relatives and friends, appearing for the purpose of exciting them to have masses said for their deliverance from purgatory. See Ru. v. 302—309.

[3] At least they were *ordered* to be so applied; for it must be confessed that Calvin had afterwards to complain of too much misappropriation of them to the purposes of private emolument.

[4] Ru. v. 311—326. A very amusing account is given of the journey of the nuns of S. Claire in retiring to Anneci. p. 314 &c. Spon, i. 260.

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upon it the old motto of their city—"After darkness I hope for light"—to the simpler form, "Light after Darkness—" expressive of acknowledgment for hopes fulfilled. [1]

We have now therefore brought down our account to an important epoch in the history of Geneva, and might be at liberty for a time to give our attention to other subjects. But, before we turn to any other quarter, we must first see Geneva placed in safety, as well as numbered among the reformed states. Such was by no means its present condition.

Proceedings of the duke of Savoy:

The duke of Savoy, enraged at the revolution which was now completed, prohibited to his subjects all intercourse with Geneva. At the same time he encouraged as many of the inhabitants as would abandon their apostate country, to settle in his dominions. So far however from distressing the city by this means, he only relieved it of the malcontents, whose place was soon after rapidly and beneficially supplied by persons from various parts, who were happy to take up their abode in a situation where they could freely exercise their religion, and enjoy many other advantages. So far therefore this little state was strengthened rather than weakened by the measures which he adopted against it. Those, it has been remarked, who accepted the duke's invitation, and removed into his dominions, entailed bondage upon themselves and their posterity; whereas those who remained at Geneva, or

[1] Spon, i. 246—265. Scultetus, 193, 199—201. Ru. v. 330—334. The annotators on Spon say, that the abbreviated motto had been used before this time. This however does not prove that it was not now designedly and significantly adopted.

migrated thither, enjoyed liberty themselves and transmitted it to their descendants. Such at least were the consequences after a short period of further struggle.[1] A. D. 1535.

In the mean time, it must be confessed, the extent to which the duke carried the blockade of the place, both by land and water, became to a high degree distressing and dangerous. This was for several ensuing months the subject of incessant applications to Berne, and of incessant negotiations between Berne and the duke, as well as of such feeble efforts to relieve themselves as the Genevese could make. The Bernese certainly shewed no forwardness to wage war upon the duke, though they were likely to be the gainers, and did ultimately prove gainers to a great extent, by that measure. On the contrary, they carried their perseverance in negotiation to the extreme of weakness, when it had become manifest that the duke merely sought to gain time till the city should fall into his hands through the pressure of want, or be reduced by the forces which he hoped to receive from his brother-in-law the emperor.[2] Nay they even took upon them to dismiss, and send home again, some troops which the people of Geneva, at an expence which they could ill bear, had procured from the neighbourhood of Neuchâtel and Vallengin. At length however they were roused, when they found that the duke kept none of his promises; that the situation of their ally was becoming extremely critical; and that even some places pertaining in common to themselves and their neighbours of Friburg were not spared by the marquis of Muss, who was

and of Berne.

Berne declares war against the duke.

[1] Ru. v. 328—330.

[2] They had each married a daughter of Portugal.

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glad to carry on a marauding warfare[1] against the reformed Swiss under cover of the duke's service. And when they did act, it must be confessed, they acted with vigour. On the 13th of January, 1536, they came to the resolution of declaring war. The next day they despatched a notice of their determination and the reasons of it to the Swiss cantons, to prevent jealousy or misunderstanding on their part. Their declaration of war was issued on the 16th, and the 22d fixed for the march of their troops: and on that very day their army set out from Berne, six or seven thousand strong. On the second of February it arrived at Geneva, having met with nothing to delay it on the road, except receiving the submission of the towns near which it passed. The Savoyards fled before them: and it is needless to say with what joy the Genevese welcomed their deliverers. Their halt at the city was however of short continuance. The next day but one they proceeded in pursuit of the enemy. But

His ruin.

the further prosecution of the war was needless against the hapless duke, who now paid the full penalty of his tyranny and cruelty. The Vallaisans, having suffered much from his injustice, seized the opportunity of avenging themselves, and recovering the places which he had wrested from them: and, worse than all, the king of France, who, besides other grounds of quarrel, found the possession of Savoy necessary to the execution of his purposes against Milan, (the subject of such protracted contest between him and the emperor,) commenced

[1] Above, pp. 103-4. He had employed incendiaries in different parts of Switzerland, who caused a conflagration at Berne, among other places, which consumed a whole street. Ru. iv. 334, 336, v. 229, 408—410.

hostilities and rushed into his territories. Thus the unhappy duke was driven from his dominions, no more to return to them.—He retired to Vercelli, where seventeen years afterwards he ended his days. A. D. 1536. (1553.)

The Bernese on their return again visited Geneva, and shewed some disposition to claim the same rights and authority there as had legally and properly pertained to the duke and the bishop—the latter considered in his civil capacity: but the Genevese reminded them what the citizens had suffered for ten years past to escape being under the yoke of a master, by submitting to which they might have been spared all these troubles: and acknowledged how generously Berne had succoured them in their long-continued struggles; and that, by the favour of God and the assistance of that state, their enemies had now melted away like snow. They entreated them therefore not to tarnish the lustre of their noble and liberal services, by a demand which tended to defeat the great object for which the arduous contest had been carried on, but to crown their own glory by placing their ally in the unfettered enjoyment of liberty and independence. The demand was in consequence not pressed: the army finally quitted Geneva, February 18; (less than a month from the time when it had set out from Berne;) and soon after every point in question between the two states was amicably settled. Thus did Geneva achieve the independence which it has so long retained.—The government caused a monument to be erected and inscriptions to be set up commemorative of the happy event.[1] Liberties of Geneva established. Feb. August.

[1] Ruchat details the particulars of the events here rapidly surveyed, vol. v. 365—470, 499—506.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE CANTONS, AND AT GENEVA, TILL THE ARRIVAL OF CALVIN—REFORMATION OF LAUSANNE AND THE PAYS DE VAUD.

A. D. 1536.

Swiss Cantons.

I SHOULD now gladly present the reader with the account of any interesting occurrences of this period, in other parts of Switzerland: but neither at Zuric,[1] nor Basle, nor Berne, and still less in the minor states, do I find much that deserves to be recorded.[2] Each of these places has, in succession, been the scene of important transactions. While the grand struggle was carried on between Christian light and liberty on the one part, and papal darkness and tyranny on the other, and while the great heroes of the reformation led on the contest, our eye was naturally fixed upon the field: but, when the victory was achieved, then things gradually settled down to the level of more ordinary, though highly useful pastoral labour; which, though it trains souls for heaven, furnishes in general little matter for the pen of history. For the present Geneva has become the point of especial attraction, though the reformation of Lausanne, and the other newly acquired territories of Berne, will afford us

[1] Simlerus de vitâ Bullingeri.

[2] Ruchat, v. 334—354, 358—361; Scultetus, &c.

some gratifying details, after we have briefly noticed some things relative to the German part of Switzerland. A. D. 1536.

We will first give some account of the origin and contents of the first Helvetic Confession of Faith. It arose out of the attempts made to procure union among the contending parties in the sacramental controversy. The divines of Zuric, irritated at the harsh remarks which Luther had made on the venerable Œcolampadius and other Swiss reformers, had met, and resolved to publish a vindication of these eminent persons, and of their reformation generally; when Capito happily interposed, and dissuaded them from widening the breach —urging that Luther had been wrought upon by the misrepresentations of evil-minded men. After this Luther seemed for a time to be softened, and not indisposed to listen to proposals of union. The hope thus held out produced some meetings of the Swiss divines:[1] at one of which, held at Basle in January, 1536, and comprehending deputies from Zuric, Berne, Basle, Schaffhausen, S. Gallen, Mulhausen, and Bienne, with Bucer and Capito from Strasburg, it was resolved to draw up a confession, not only on the point in question with Luther, but of their faith generally, which might serve

First Helvetic Confession.

1535 Aug. 6.

Oct.

[1] In a letter of Bullinger's to Bucer and Capito, dated 30 April, 1536, in which he excuses himself and his brethren of Zuric from accompanying them to a meeting at Eisenach, where Luther had proposed to be present, he thus speaks of the Saxon reformer: "From our hearts we love Luther as a most dear brother: we venerate him as a most choice minister of Jesus Christ, by whom God has produced the greatest effects upon the world: we look up to him as a man most holy, most learned, and truly great in the restoration of religion—whose services to piety and learning are of the highest kind. Nothing therefore do we more desire than a sound union with him." Ru. v. 711.

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as well for communication to the general council, then much talked of, as for the present occasion. The task was committed to Bullinger and Leo Jude of Zuric, Oswald Myconius and Simon Grynæus of Basle, and Caspar Megander of Berne. The confession was composed in Latin, and the translation of it into German committed to Megander. And this is called the First, or Short Helvetic Confession. It is dated in February, 1536, and was signed by the reformed cantons in May following. But that which generally passes under the name of the Helvetic Confession is the larger one, of the year 1566, which was received at that period by all the reformed states of Switzerland, with the exception of Basle and Neuchâtel; and was also approved by the reformed churches of England, Scotland, France, Belgium, and by many of those of Germany, Poland, and Hungary.—The confession drawn up at the period of which we are writing was soon after conveyed to Wittemberg by Bucer and Capito, in that visit in which the concord of Wittemberg[1] was formed, and was not disapproved by the divines of that place and other protestants.[2]

Extracts from it.

This early Swiss confession being of rare occurrence, and of no great length, Ruchat has inserted it in his history in a French translation; and we may thence give a few brief extracts. The total number of its articles is twenty-seven. Bucer and Capito, it seems, had been particularly anxious that those on original sin, free will, the design of the gospel, the sacred ministry, and the sacraments should be expressed in the most unexceptiona-

[1] See vol. i. 215. Ruchat, v. 540—561.

[2] Ruchat, v. 182, 355—357, 362-3, 506—509, 526, 534—539. Sylloge Confessionem, Oxon. 1804, p. xiii-xv.

ble manner. The attempt to avoid giving offence was perhaps carried too far: for that on the first topic, (Art. viii.) at least, is not remarkable for perspicuity. Having stated that fallen man "can receive no help, nor be restored except by God in Christ," it proceeds: "And what good remains in him is daily weakened more and more by his defects and vices, so that he always goes from bad to worse: for the force of the sin and imperfection, which are in us, so impels him, that neither can reason follow what it knows, nor the most powerful understanding implant, advance, and mature this divine spark." Does this mean, that the fall has left "a spark" of "divine" and spiritual good in the natural man, but yet that his sins always tend, at least, if they do not actually prevail, to extinguish it?—Art. ix. *Free-will.* "This is the reason why we attribute to man liberty of such a kind, that we have in ourselves the consciousness of doing good or ill knowingly and voluntarily;[1] we can of ourselves do what is evil, but, with respect to good, we can neither choose nor perform it, except we be enlightened, excited, and moved by the grace of Jesus Christ: *for it is God that worketh in us both to will and to do, of his good pleasure.* From God cometh our salvation,' but from ourselves nothing but sin and corruption." Art. xii. *The design of the gospel.* "The first and great principle of the gospel, which ought to be set forth in a lively manner in all preaching, and forcibly impressed and inculcated on the hearts of men, is this, that we are saved only by the mere mercy of God, and by the merit of Jesus Christ. But, to the end that

A. D. 1536.

Original sin.

Free will.

The Gospel.

[1] That is, of free agency. See vol. ii. 193. &c.

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men may well comprehend the need they have of Jesus Christ for their safety and happiness, they must have the greatness and enormity of their sins set before them, and as clearly and strongly as possible described, and exhibited to them by the law,[1] and in the death of Jesus Christ."—Art. xiii. *In what manner the grace of Christ and his merits are communicated to us.* "These great benefits of the grace of God, and the true sanctification of the Spirit of God, come not to us, we obtain them not, by our merits and strength, but by faith, which is the gift of God. This faith is a sure, firm, and immoveable foundation, and an apprehending (laying hold) of all those things which it hopes for from God; which produces charity, and thus the fruit of all sorts of virtues and good works. And, though good and faithful persons exercise themselves continually in the fruits of faith, yet they attribute not their sanctification and salvation to these works, but only to the grace of God. This faith, which reposes itself not on its works (though it produces them without limit,) but on the mercy of God, is the true and right service by which we may please God."—Art. xvii. *On the ministry of the church.* "No one should be entrusted with such a ministry till he hath been previously found, 1. Well instructed in the scriptures, and in the knowledge of the will of God: 2. Irreprehensible in his life: 3. Ardent and zealous in his affection and diligence to promote the doctrine and honour of Jesus Christ.—Art. xx. Sacraments are denied to be "naked and empty signs:" they consist of "signs and things signified." "In baptism water is the sign, but the real and

Faith.

The sacred ministry.

Sacraments.

[1] Compare above, p. 250.

spiritual blessing is regeneration, or reception and entry among the people of God."—Art. xxi. "We baptise our children with this holy washing, because it would be unjust to deprive those of the communion of the people of God, who are born of us, his people; who are destined to it by the voice of God; and who, we may presume, are persons elected of God." A. D. 1536.

By the proceedings with which this confession was connected, some hopes were held out of an union between the two great bodies of the reformed, who were so unnaturally divided and kept asunder by the unhappy sacramental controversy. It is needless to say that these hopes passed away without fruit. One thing which again roused the spirit of Luther was the appearance at this time of Zwingle's Short Exposition of the Faith, in which is found the strongest of those passages concerning the heathen, which gave so much offence.[1] The work was written a little time before his death, and was addressed to the king of France; but it was now first published by Bullinger, who prefixed a preface defending the author against the misrepresentations of his enemies.—At this time also was published, at Basle, the collection of the Epistles of Œcolampadius and Zwingle, of which we have largely availed ourselves in this work.[2] Publication of certain works of Zwingle.

It would perhaps be remarked that the name of Haller the reformer of Berne[3] did not Death of Haller.

[1] See vol. i. 513. [2] Ruchat, v. 530—532.

[3] Vol. ii. 382, 420—422, 559, 560. Five years before, he had spoken of himself as "podagrâ, herniâ, et mole corporeâ gravatus." Fueslin, p. 86. Several letters of his to Bullinger occur in this collection, p. 85—101, which bespeak a humble, affectionate, and good spirit. He says "modestiâ Dominus per me plus egit, quam acerbitate"—"In my case, gentleness has proved a more efficient instrument in God's hand, than harshness." p. 88.

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appear among the divines concerned in drawing up the confession.[1] No doubt the reason had been his inability to take a part in the work, as he died the very month in which it bears date—26 February, 1536. "He was universally regretted," says Ruchat, "on account of his zeal, his knowledge, his mildness, his piety, and the many excellent qualities which distinguished him among the divines of his time. Colbius, his coadjutor, had died the preceding year.[1] The council solicited and obtained Sebastian Meyer[2] from Strasburg (whither, it hence appears, he had returned,) to succeed Haller: and, in addition to him, and Simon Sultzer, and Kontzen, (who had succeeded Colbius,) they soon after procured Erasmus Ritter,[3] from Schaffhausen, to minister in their church. But, even these four labourers being found insufficient for the duties which devolved on them, two additional persons were afterwards appointed to assist them.[4]

Simon Sultzer.

Of Sultzer, as he attained to considerable eminence from a very humble origin, we may take this occasion to introduce a brief notice. He was the son of a barber of Interlaken, in the canton of Berne. By some means however, probably from the views of his father rising above his station in life, he received a good education, studying the Greek and Latin languages with success under Oswald Myconius at Lucerne, and Henry Glareanus at Basle. After the death of his father, finding no better opening presented to him, he placed himself with a barber at Strasburg, to acquire the art by which his father had lived. A depu-

[1] Vol. ii. 560-1. Ruchat, v. 362.
[2] Vol. ii. 382, 423, 443-4, 526. [3] Vol. ii. 475, 577-8.
[4] Ruchat, i. 497, v. 362, 532–534, vi. 478.

tation from Berne to Strasburg, in the year 1530, having heard of the attainments and the good character of their young countryman, carried the report to their superiors on their return; and they, being anxious to collect men of learning to their town, sent money for the support of Sultzer, and commended him to the care of Bucer and Capito, that he might pursue his studies under their direction. From Strasburg he removed to Basle, and boarded with Simon Grynæus, till he obtained the office of head master of the school.[1] So that few men enjoyed the advantage of being associated with more persons of eminence in the history of the reformation. In 1533, he removed to Berne, where he became professor of Greek, and one of the pastors of the town: in which situations he acquitted himself to his own honour, and the advantage of those among whom he laboured.[2] Such instances it is gratifying to contemplate. A. D. 1536.

The reformed cantons repeatedly and honourably exerted all their influence with the king of France, to stay the persecutions which disgraced his reign: but without effect.[3] Zuric and Berne also zealously endeavoured to bring the cantons at large to adopt their principle, of refusing foreign pensions and mercenary military services: but the gold of the several princes who solicited the aids of the Swiss prevailed over better arguments, and dissipated promising appearances.[4] Persecutions in France.

Mention is made at this time of the revival

[1] Perhaps I ought to give a more dignified rendering to "l'emploi de principal du collége." But his speedy removal to Berne makes me hesitate.

[2] Ru. iv. 154-5. [3] Ru. v. 572—574 et alibi.

[4] Ruchat, v. 574—578.

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Catechizing.

in the cantons of Zuric and Berne, in S. Gallen and the Grisons, of the important practice of public catechising, which, under the Roman regimen, "had for ages fallen into oblivion." Leo Jude drew up for this purpose a catechism in Latin and German; and at Zuric, after the publication of Calvin's Institutes, in the year 1535 or 1536, a series of questions and answers was drawn from that work, and taught in the schools of the canton.[1]

State of Geneva. 1536.

Some events at this time took place at Geneva, which as antecedent to the period when that city will almost exclusively engage our attention, may be here related.—One of the first uses that the Genevese made of the liberty and security, which were the well-earned reward of their protracted struggles, was to carry forward the reformation of religion towards perfection. Such a work could not but continue in a very immature state amid the agitations which had prevailed. Great discords existed even among those who professed the reformed doctrine, some being inclined to carry the changes introduced further than others; which led the two parties to reproach one another with insincerity or lukewarmness on the one hand, or with a misguided zeal on the other. Much heartburning and discontent had also arisen by reason of the losses incurred by the demolition of the

Feb.

suburbs. Farel and his coadjutors in the ministry contributed their best endeavours, in cooperation with the government, to allay these uneasinesses, and as far as possible to give general satisfaction on all disputed points: and they appear to have been as successful as could reasonably be expected. The council next

[1] Ruchat, iv. 348. v. 176-7.

proceeded to regulate the times and places of public worship, the observation of the sabbath, and other things connected with religion and morals. They established and provided for four pastors and two assistants; commanded the sabbath to be strictly observed; appointed an early service on that day for the benefit of servants; and allowed public worship and preaching in the German and Italian languages, for the numerous refugees to whom those tongues were vernacular. They enacted laws against profaneness and licentiousness, and against public dances, fairs, masquerades, and other entertainments tending to the corruption of manners.[1] They shewed due solicitude also for the education of youth: and for this end established a college in the late convent of the Franciscans, at the head of which was placed Anthony Saunier, a friend of Farel's, and like him a native of Dauphiny.[2] On the same day that the decree was passed for the establishment of the college, the whole body of the citizens were called upon to take a solemn oath to renounce popish rites and errors, and to live according to the rules of the gospel. Some want of tolerance was shewn in punishing Roman-catholic priests who remained in the city, and were detected from time to time saying mass, and administering the sacraments after the manner of their church; and even those who went abroad to other places in the neighbourhood to attend these ceremonies.

A. D. 1536.

Regulations there.

Establishment of a college. May 21.

Popery abjured.

At the urgent instance of Farel, means were now adopted for spreading the reformation around Geneva, particularly in those small dependencies which the city had acquired by

Reformation of the adjoining territory.

[1] This was previous to the arrival of Calvin.
[2] Ru. iv. 301, 307. v. 243, 413, 589.

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its final settlement with Berne. The priests and curès were called before the council, and, in the presence of the reformed ministers and a numerous assemblage, interrogated as to their willingness to comply with the form of religion established at Geneva. Some assented, many refused, and one, the most aged of the number, replied in a manner which could hardly be deemed unreasonable. He expressed his surprise that he and his brethren should be expected thus suddenly to renounce a system which the church had followed for ages, and *that* before any pains had been taken to convince them that it was erroneous; whereas at Geneva itself, both in the council and among the citizens at large, the change had been gradual and the work of time. He demanded therefore that space should be allowed, and means of information afforded: professing, both for himself and those who were associated with him, that they were ready to confer with the reformed ministers. The term which he claimed to enable them to make up their minds was no more than one month.—We are sorry to find that Farel somewhat intemperately protested against granting this indulgence, as giving an "unwarrantable obstruction to the work of God:" but the advice of the sagacious Bonnivard (now released from the castle of Chillon, where the duke of Savoy had for five years imprisoned him, in reward for his patriotic zeal, [1]) prevailed. He recommended that the demand should be complied with; and that the council should make it their aim to enlighten, not to force the consciences of these men, most justly remarking, "Should they shew themselves so flexible as to pass from one religion to the

[1] Ru. v. 310, 484.

other at your bidding, you can have no assurance that they will not, on another occasion, as lightly turn back to their old profession."— At the close of the month these persons in general concurred in the proposed changes. From various circumstances however, as might have been expected, it appears that this conversion of the country was too hasty and too interested to be very sound. [1] A. D. 1536.

The year of which we are writing gave to Geneva that eminent person from whom it has principally derived its celebrity, in a religious point of view: but, as CALVIN did not immediately come very prominently into notice, we postpone the account of his introduction till we shall pursue his history in an unbroken thread. Calvin.

The last transaction which we shall here notice relative to Geneva is the publication of a Confession of Faith, drawn up at this time by Farel, and sanctioned by the council in the month of November, 1536. It was comprised in twenty-one articles; of which we shall here present a few specimens. In article 3, the law of God is asserted to be the only rule of life, and exclusively "to have authority over the conscience:" and the ten commandments are given as a summary of it. Art. 4: Man is acknowledged to be by nature "blinded in his understanding, and full of corruption and perverseness of heart: so that of himself he has no power to attain the true knowledge of God, or to give himself to good works: but, on the contrary, if left to himself he can only continue in ignorance, and be abandoned to all iniquity." Hence, Art. 5, he can in himself expect nothing but the wrath and curse of God, and must seek out of himself (in another) for salvation— Confession of faith.

[1] Ib. v. 582—590, 601—609., Spon, i. 271—273.

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namely, (Art. 6, 7.) in Christ. Art. 8: "By the Spirit of Christ we are regenerated to a new and spiritual nature: that is the evil concupiscences of our flesh are mortified by his grace, so that they no more reign in us; and on the contrary our will is rendered conformable to that of God, to follow his way, and seek those things which are pleasing to him." Art. 9: "This regeneration is (only) so far effected, that, even till we are delivered from this mortal body, there remain always in us great imperfection and infirmity: so that we are ever poor and miserable sinners before God....We have therefore always need of the mercy of God for the remission of our faults and offences; and must constantly seek our righteousness in Christ, and not in ourselves, and repose and assure ourselves in him, attributing nothing to our own works." Art. 10: "And to the end that all the glory and praise may (as they are due,) be given to God, and that we may enjoy true repose and peace of conscience, we understand and confess that we receive all the above-recited benefits from God by his mercy and grace alone, without any consideration of our deserts, or of the merit of our works—to which no other reward is due than eternal confusion. Nevertheless our (gracious) God, having of his goodness received us to the communion of his Son Jesus Christ, accepts the works which we do in faith as pleasant and agreeable to him: not that they merit this, but that he does not impute to us their imperfection, but recognises only what proceeds from his Spirit." Art. 11. "The way of admission opened for us to the enjoyment of so great treasures, and this real bounty of God, is by faith—when in sure affiance and confidence of heart we believe the

promises of the gospel, and receive Jesus Christ as he is presented to us by the Father, and described to us by the word of God."[1] A. D. 1536.

Reformation of the Pays de Vaud.

The short war waged by the Bernese with the duke of Savoy was productive of very important consequences, as it permanently transferred to the former power the sovereignty of the greater part of the Pays de Vaud, and some other districts distinguished from it by little more than names which need not be here recited. This might be partly by right of war, but it seems to have been chiefly by that right giving effect to previous treaties, by which the country had been pledged to Berne and Friburg, save upon conditions which the duke was either unwilling or unable to fulfil. To this it may be ascribed that the surrounding cantons witnessed without apparent umbrage this aggrandisement of Berne. Throughout the territory which thus accrued to them, the Bernese made it their first care to introduce that reformation of which they were the zealous supporters. In many particulars their proceedings were evidently prudent and proper. 1. They established reformed ministers in the principal towns, and thence sent them to make circuits through the adjacent country, providing that they should be heard without molestation wherever an audience was willing to listen to them. Viret was thus stationed at Lausanne, John le Comte at Granson, Thomas Malingre at Yverdun, Christopher Libertet, or Fabri, at Thonon, Daille, who was succeeded by Augustus Marlorat, (a name better known,) at Vevay, and Matthew de la Croix at Lutry. 2. When

[1] Ruchat gives us Farel's Confession at length, vol. v. 590—601.

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opposition was raised, and calumnies circulated, (and very extravagant calumnies were circulated,) they took care to bring the two parties together in public discussion—of which we shall have some important instances to relate. 3. The government took into its own disposal the goods of the church and of the religious houses, employing them, as in other places, after proper allowances to the present tenants; in providing for religious worship and the instruction of the people, the education of youth, and the support of the poor.[1] One of the chief difficulties with which they had to contend was the want of good ministers. Men of this character were earnestly sought from all quarters: but Farel complains of the impossibility of finding them. The persecutions in France, by driving pious men abroad, were still the chief source of supply. Most of the ministers lately enumerated were French protestant refugees. Some useful men however were added from among priests and monks of the country, who were sincere converts to the reformed faith.

Edict of reformation.

When the way had been sufficiently prepared, the whole change contemplated was established by a general edict, passed 24 December, 1536, and published throughout the territory the beginning of the following year.[2] As in other

[1] We will not affect to deny that abuses might arise in the distribution of these funds. We have said that Calvin complains of them: and Farel does the same. Calv. Epist. p. 20, 33, 34. One liberal provision may be noticed. Any person, disapproving either of the past or the present application of the property, was allowed to resume whatever his family, to the third generation back, had given to the church. Payments assigned for masses for the dead were allowed to be retained by the present receivers, but they were afterwards to revert to the families of the founders. Ruchat, vi. 369.

[2] Ruchat, vi. 366—371.

instances, it might here be complained that sufficient tolerance was not shewn to those whom education and long habit had attached to the Romish communion. It was thought sufficient indulgence to allow them to withdraw themselves and their property unmolested from the country. They were not permitted to exercise the rites of their religion in their native land beyond a limited period. Indeed we must hold that Berne, in its laudable zeal for the reformation, made too great haste, and attempted too much. It did not allow sufficient time for men's understandings to be informed and their judgments convinced: but acted too much as if the world could be reformed by legal enactments, without waiting for rational conviction, and still less for spiritual conversion. Hence proceeded some of the most serious evils which presented themselves, whether arising from the irritation of those who still openly or secretly adhered to the old religion, or from the hypocrisy and treachery of such as professed the reformed faith in order to retain their emoluments, or to recommend themselves to their new masters.[1] Time, however, and instruction, and the blessing of God upon well-meant, though sometimes mistaken measures, effected what mere authority could not, and finally established the reformation of the Pays de Vaud. A. D. 1536.

It may be observed as an evidence how little *general* offence was taken at the changes thus introduced, that the Bernese appear to have felt no hesitation in at once putting arms into the hands of their new subjects. Indeed

[1] Hence such painful accounts as those from Yverdun, Ru. vi. 496-7, shewing the people to be, though reformed in name, still little better than heathens in practice.

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they issued an express order that they should furnish themselves with such instruments, to be employed on any emergency that might require the use of them.[1] It is satisfactory also to find, that this important revolution cost not one drop of blood, save that of a Genevese reformed minister, who was murdered near Morges, and that of a man and his two sons who were executed for the murder.[2] What a contrast to the proceedings by which protestantism, partially established, was not long after compelled again, for a time, to give way to popery in our own country![3]

Reformation established at Lausanne.

Lausanne and its territory are to be included among the places in which the reformation was now established. This city could boast, beside its bishop, a chapter of thirty-two canons, a convent of Franciscans and another of Dominicans, and five parish churches. The bishop, (like his brother of Geneva,) in addition to his spiritual power, possessed a degree of princely authority in the place—though the concurrence of the three estates of the clergy, the nobles, and the citizens with him was necessary to the enactment of laws. But, with all the provision thus made for its religious improvement, it was, in common with the surrounding country, sunk even below the customary ignorance, superstition,[4]

[1] Ruchat, vi. 347-8. [2] Ib. 377-8.

[3] Ruchat, v. 464—466, 473—485, 493—497, 641—654: vi. 324—350, 371—409, 498, 507—509.

[4] Ruchat relates the following instance of folly on the one side and imposture on the other. The land of the people of Lutry was about this time so infested by grubs as to be nearly ruined. Their magistrates took the subject into consideration, and asked advice of Lausanne—whence they received the sage counsel, that, after certain processions made and citations issued in due form, they should take out an excommunication against the vermin! The preparatory steps,

and vice of the times.[1] Here, as at Geneva and in other parts, the contempt which the clergy drew upon themselves by their debaucheries, seems to have produced the first leaning towards reformation: though, as far as the year 1535, we find no other distinct trace of such an inclination, than an edict against those who neglected the accustomed restrictions on the use of animal food at certain seasons. Lausanne, however, like Geneva, had been ten years in alliance with Berne and Friburg: and much to the displeasure of its bishop, (Sebastian de Montfauçon,) it had contributed its quota of troops to the former in the war of Cappel. After the disastrous termination of that war, the bishop attempted to carry a law prohibiting all mention whatever to be made of the reformers or their doctrine; but the citizens rejected the proposal. When the war of Berne against Savoy commenced, Lausanne again aided its ally; but the bishop, who, in the circumstance in which he was placed, ought by all means to have continued neutral, reckoned with such confidence on the success of the duke, and on being able by his assistance to render himself absolute in the city, that he committed himself on the other side. His rashness cost him his bishopric; for Berne, having triumphed over the duke, turned its arms against the bishop,

A. D. 1536.

The Bishop deprived.

he assures us, were taken, whether the excommunication ever proceeded or not. (Vol. v. 162.)—Concerning the *ignorance* of the country he renews his complaints, vol. vi. p. 441, &c. observing that, notwithstanding the existence of thirty or forty rich religious, and, as they purported to be, learned foundations, no writer was found among them even to record any notice of the founders.' Three or four authors only are mentioned from the sixth to the fifteenth century; they are utterly insignificant; and were all foreigners!

[1] See the Preliminary Discourse of Ruchat's History.

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who fled away no more to return to his see. The Bernese seized his temporalities, and among them that principality which he had enjoyed in Lausanne. The arrangements which they made with the citizens appear to have been not inequitable, and they proved in the main satisfactory. Liberty of conscience was by these regulations allowed to both parties, the reformed and the Romanists.[1]

Preaching of Viret. March.

During the progress of the war we find Viret preaching at Lausanne with acceptance, and the council permitting as many as pleased to hear him, and even assigning him the use of the Dominican church. The only restriction which, apparently, they attempted to impose was the prohibition of the violent breaking of images, and other disorders: a restriction which, however just, was not duly observed.

Disputation of Lausanne.

Many circumstances now conspired to make the rulers of Berne think it highly expedient that a public disputation should be held within the limits of their new dominions: and they accordingly gave notice of a meeting for the purpose, with every proper encouragement to persons from all quarters to resort to it, to take place at Lausanne on the first of October; and Farel prepared ten theses for discussion. The emperor, then in Italy, no sooner heard of the projected measure, than, prompted probably by the fugitive bishop, he issued a prohibition against it as contrary to his decrees for referring all religious questions to the general council shortly to be held. The senate of Lausanne would have obeyed the emperor's injunction; but that of Berne shewed no such

[1] Ruchat, iv. 85—95: v. 7—23, 340—345, 436—440, 481-2, 496—498, 627—637, 655—659, 663—668.

respect for it; and the preparations for the meeting went forward. It was held at the time appointed in the cathedral church, and lasted eight successive days.[1] A. D. 1536.

Ruchat has employed an entire book[2] on the proceedings of this disputation, as recorded in an attested copy of the Acts, a manuscript of six hundred folio pages, preserved in the library of Berne.[3] The principal managers on the part of the reformed were Farel, Viret, and Peter Caroli. Calvin was present, and spoke twice, on the subject of the sacrament.[4] John le Comte was also usefully employed there, though he took no public part in the discussion. His private exertions proved the means of making converts of a French Franciscan, a priest, and two noviciates of Granson.[5] On the other side, the canons of Lausanne contented themselves with twice protesting against the meeting; after which they withdrew. None of the clergy of the place, secular or regular, took any part in the dispute. Several ecclesiastics however are enumerated who came to maintain the doctrines of Rome: but a French physician of the name of Claude Blancherose, who had settled at Lausanne, was suffered throughout to be the principal spokesman of the party— which gave occasion to Farel to remark, that the priests certainly felt their cause to be a in a sickly state, seeing they had given it up into the hands of the doctor.[6]—On the whole however the cause of popery seems to have been as well supported, on several of the articles at least, on this as on any former occasion of the kind.—Farel and Viret also both shewed

[1] Ru. v. 687—704.
[2] Book xv: vol. vi. 1—317.
[3] Ib. v. 704. vi. 316.
[4] Ib. vi. 177, 253.
[5] Ib. v. 703.
[6] Ib. v. 702. vi. 239.

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great readiness and acuteness, and an intimate acquaintance with the scriptures. Their doctrine was sound and good. The theses discussed embraced most of the principal points at issue between the parties: but the leading article, on justification, was that which was most fully debated; and it is the only one on which we shall deem it needful to present any extracts. The object of our selections will be to shew, how precisely Farel and Viret, authorities almost new to us, maintained the same doctrine on this fundamental point as did Luther and Melancthon, Zwingle, Calvin, and Cranmer.

Farel's statement of Justification.

Farel's statement of the doctrine, in introducing the first thesis, may be thus abridged: "Holy scripture, which is *given by inspiration of God*, knows no other way of justification than by faith of Jesus Christ: and this justification is nothing else than the pardon of sin.[1] God *justifies*, that is, he holds or reputes as innocent and righteous. *Who shalt lay* ANY THING TO THE CHARGE *of God's elect? It is God that* JUSTIFIETH.—And this justification comes only by faith in Jesus Christ. 1. It is certain that all men are naturally *children of wrath:* but God has *so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life:* and Christ says, *He that believeth on me hath everlasting life; and my blood is shed for the remission of sins.* 2. S. Paul has shewn that we cannot be justified even by works which God has commanded: how much less then by those which only the command-

[1] That is, it is quite distinct from *sanctification*, which the church of Rome mixes up with it, and makes in part, at least, the ground of it.

ments of men have enjoined? 3. The apostle proves his doctrine from the case of the most eminent saint, Abraham, whose *faith was imputed to him for righteousness.* 4. Those who speak otherwise, not only destroy faith, but *make grace to be no more grace:* for to him who worketh for it the reward is not reckoned of grace. 5. The apostle (S. John) discovers no other saints in heaven than those who have been purified by the blood of Christ.—To Jesus Christ then alone must we betake ourselves, *weary and heavy laden,* to obtain all the grace and mercy we need. *No man cometh to the Father but by him.* Those, who seek these blessings any where else than in him, deprive themselves altogether of the benefit of Christ; as S. Paul shews when arguing against the joining of circumcision with Christ.—As to the nature of faith, *by which the just shall live,* it is a sure trust in Christ, by which we receive the Spirit of Christ, are engrafted into him, and made the children of God. This faith cannot be without fruit, which all those who are united as branches to the living vine bring forth. The Spirit of Christ, which is in them that believe, brings forth *the fruits of the Spirit.* (Galat. v.) Jesus Christ is made our *sanctification:* (1 Cor. i. 30:) and by union with him we are brought to serve God with all purity. Rom. vi." To shew that before the coming of Christ the saints lived by faith in him, Farel caused the xith chapter of Hebrews to be read aloud; and then observed, that it was necessary that this "righteousness of faith" should be fully preached and received by all, 1. for the glory of God, to whom belongs all the praise of our justification; which *they* cannot ascribe to him, who do not acknowledge that we are

A. D. 1536.

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all polluted and sinners before him: and 2. for our safety; that, rejecting all opinion of merit, we may be assured of this righteousness which we have by faith, since all our righteousnesses can bring only a curse from God. But, if we learn that all our sins are covered by the righteousness of Christ, and that we are rendered perfect (as to justification) by his perfection, through the sole mercy of God, then we have true assurance and peace in our souls.[1]

Objections urged against it.

Blanchrose objected, 1. That, if this doctrine were true, the devils might be saved, since they are said to believe: (James ii:) 2. That S. Paul says, we are saved by grace: (Titus ii:) but grace and faith are different things: 3. That justification is the remission of sins, and Luke vii. shews that this is by love: 4. That in order to enter into life we must keep the commandments: (Matt. xix:) 5. That baptism *saves us*.—It must be unnecessary to record the answers to such arguments as most of these.

Farel's answer.

Farel observed, that the faith which saves us is a living faith, which *worketh by love;* the very opposite therefore to that which S. James exposes, and which is *dead:* That the passage to Titus confirms the doctrine, that *not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy,* or grace, *God saves us*—which grace we embrace by faith: That Luke vii. testifies that the woman was saved *by faith,* and she loved much because much had been forgiven her: That the answer to the young ruler, respecting keeping the commandments, WAS DESIGNED TO LEAD HIM TO FAITH IN CHRIST, by shewing him his weakness and condemna-

[1] Ruchat, vi. 13—18.

tion by the law:[1] and that, as to baptism, it is the profession of that faith by which we are saved.[2] A.D. 1536.

Blanchrose next undertook to shew, that scripture requires many other things in order to salvation, besides faith: for example hope and charity, the latter of which is even *greater* than faith, (1 Cor. xiii,) and ought therefore to have salvation ascribed to it. To the last argument Farel smartly and solidly replied, "It is as if any one should say, 'The heaven is greater than the sun, therefore the sun does not enlighten the heaven." He added, that the faith spoken of in that passage is a faith supposed to be *separated from charity*, and therefore not the faith that justifieth, and which ever *worketh by love*, or charity.[3] Further objections and answers.

"Suppose," said Blanchrose, "that I have lived all my life as a thief and a robber: will faith save me—faith without making satisfaction? If we are thus saved by faith, without works, we may do, instead of good, all the evil we can." This is the standing but ignorant argument of all ages. "Thus," replied Farel, "is the apostle blasphemed for preaching, that *where sin has abounded grace does much more abound;* (Rom. iii. vi;) because the grace of God, and the doctrine of a true faith, are not understood. For he who does understand them, and has the experience of a true faith, cannot thus speak from his heart. See, as has been so often repeated, the poor sinner, guilty before

[1] Compare the opening argument of the epistle to the Romans, and Gal. iii. 21—24, &c. Ruchat, vi. 45—51.

[3] Ib. 56, 57. Blanchrose's argument is bottomed in self-righteousness, and is such as that principle must ever prompt. It assumes that it must be by our doing "some great thing," and not simply by *receiving* God's free gift, that so rich a blessing as justification is to be obtained.

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God, and exposed to eternal death, but understanding that God, of his great bounty and mercy, having compassion on the man that could neither make satisfaction nor effect his escape, has given his own Son for the guilty; that his Son has borne the penalty of the sinner; so that because the sinner confides in Jesus, and believes that he has suffered to save him, and that the Father, for the sake of this satisfaction made by his Surety, pardons his sins: the man who believes this astonishing grace of God, having the Spirit of God, which is given to every true believer—how shall he live in sin, and offend him from whom he has received such unspeakable favours?.... Thus does this objection fall to the ground—which proceeds from ignorance of the nature and power of a true faith, and of the operations of the Spirit of God, which is given us by his grace. For it (a true faith) consists not in saying with the lips, 'I believe,' 'I believe that Jesus Christ died for my sins;' but in a full assurance of the heart that by Jesus Christ God our Father is fully propitiated towards us, and has forgiven us all trespasses. This it is to which, without our having deserved any thing but his wrath, and without our having done any good, we are indebted. And from this justifying faith follow good works: and it is by this faith, without any good works having *preceded*, that we are justified—as saith the apostle." He then caused Romans iii, from the ninth verse to the end, to be read.

Here Blanchrose could not believe that what he had heard was really part of the sacred text, till he was convinced from an ancient manuscript copy belonging to the library of the Franciscans: when he exclaimed, "It is true

then that we are justified by faith: and the thesis is right: for" (reciting a passage which had been previously urged,) "the apostle says, We are not saved *by works of righteousness which we have done, but God, according to his mercy, saves us.*"[1] A.D. 1536.

The law cannot justify.

John Mimard, master of the school of Vevay, then asked, if they thought that the law, by the works of which we cannot be justified, included both the evangelical law and the law of the ten commandments. In his opinion it meant only the ceremonial law. "My brother," replied Farel, making the appeal as it ought ever to be made in such questions to the conscience and the heart, "you must learn the condition of unhappy man before he is justified; and also the force of the law, and what it requires: and then you will understand how *without the works of the law,* and without having done any good, he is justified by faith. 1. Man, being conceived and born in sin, polluted and unholy, cannot keep the commandments of God's law, which is *spiritual,* and requires that we love God with all our heart, and love all our neighbours, not excepting our enemies. In short the law requires perfection, and a divine holiness, such as no child of Adam ever could have." In proof of this he caused Romans vii, from verse seven to the end, to be read: and then, resuming, observed that the apostle here said nothing of ceremonies, but spoke of the ten commandments of the moral law, quoting particularly the precept, "Thou shalt not covet;" and shewing how the law is "holy and just and good," but by "the sin which dwelleth in us" is turned into death to us, becoming the occasion of death

[1] Ruchat, vi. 58—60.

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and condemnation. "Thus," said he, "he who has no other resource than the law must necessarily fall either into despair or into hypocrisy—thinking (in the latter case,) to fulfil the law by his works, and trusting to his own righteousness, like the pharisees of old.—Since then," he proceeded, "the law condemns all sinners, and that those who are under the law are accursed, there must be some other means of justification than the law," if man is ever to be saved; "and that means is faith in Christ."

Faith and works.

Mimard objected, that good works make us acceptable to God. Farel replied: "In the matter of faith we must be careful to keep the right path, declining neither to the right hand nor to the left.... They proceed rightly and according to the will of God, who, neither losing heart because of their own inability and sinfulness, nor having recourse to their own righteousness and works, but solely to the bounty and mercy of God, and putting their whole trust in the righteousness and merits of Christ, and believing by his means alone to find grace, to be justified, and made acceptable to God, have not a vain and idle faith, but live in good works. Ephes. ii. 8—10.... Thus he who is justified is, after all, the man that does good works—which however do not precede, but follow his justification."[1]

P. Caroli.

We have observed that Caroli proved an unsound character, and reverted to popery. He shewed himself however on this occasion well acquainted with the reformed doctrine, and able to contend for it. 1. "If," said he, "you make good works precede justification, they become associates of Jesus Christ in justifying

[1] Ruchat, vi. 61—65.

us, which is to make him of none effect. 2. Good works which follow justification do not justify: for the believer is already justified by his faith. The case resembles that of a king pardoning a malefactor, not that he may return to his evil deeds, but that he may lead a new life. 3. As to *satisfaction*, we say that he who has injured another must make restitution: and we speak of the murderer as making satisfaction for his crimes when he suffers death: but this is only satisfaction to his neighbour and to the state, and not to God. It is only Jesus Christ that has satisfied for sin." "God," he said again, "gives faith, and faith produces love. As the sun is never without his rays, so a living faith is never without charity or love." —"The office of faith is to embrace the promise of the grace of God; that of charity, to love. Now to love is not to embrace the promise. Justification is attributed to faith because it embraces the promise." A.D. 1536.

It was objected to Caroli, that he had heretofore taught, that the works which are excluded from justifying us are only ceremonial works. He answered, that it was true he had formerly taken that view of the subject, but that he had never at that time found peace in his conscience, feeling that his explanation was not satisfactory: that he had read many commentators to obtain information, but without finding any thing in which he could rest: that at last he had taken the course of reading the scriptures throughout for himself, and praying earnestly to God to enlighten him, and give him a true understanding of his word: that God had heard his prayers; and he had ever since been of his present sentiments. For this he blessed God, and invited others to

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do as he had done."[1] Such an account of himself, from one who afterwards turned away from the truth, will naturally be painful to the humble pious mind, not only on the unhappy man's own account, but from a secret surmise which it may raise, that a person may sincerely seek the truth and yet be fatally deceived. If however we may trust the accounts given of Caroli, (and there seems no reason to call them in question,) we must fear that he throughout "regarded iniquity in his heart," and even practised it in his life, and therefore never possessed "godly sincerity." But to this subject our attention will be recalled.

Effects of the Disputation.

The disputation of Lausanne operated powerfully in favour of the reformation. Many of the proceedings of Berne for the introduction of a new system into French Switzerland, which have been described, were subsequent to it, and derived material aid from it. Several persons who had taken part in the discussion were convinced by the arguments of the reformers, and joined their party. Such were Drogy, parish priest of Morges, Ferdinand Loys, lord of Chesaux, and John Tandi, a Franciscan, who declared his conviction before the assembly, and begged pardon of God for the opposition he had made to the truth, and of the people for having misled them; beseeching God to give grace to others to discover the truth as he had done.[2]—In less than a month after the conclusion of this dispute, in spite of all the opposition which the canons could give to such a measure, the citizens of Lausanne openly embraced the reformation, and on the recommendation of Berne received Peter Caroli for

Reformation of Lausanne. Caroli first Pastor. Nov. 5.

[1] Ruchat, vi. 77, 78, 81, 91, 103.
[2] Ruchat, vi. 189, 329, 349, 350, &c.

their first minister. Viret, it is observed, as having been the principal instrument in effecting this change, and at the same time a man of high character and talent, ought to have had this appointment; but he was only twenty-five years of age, and respect was had to the superior rank and standing of Caroli.[1] It was however but a very short time that Caroli retained his situation. Within a few months after he had acquitted himself so well at the disputation of Lausanne, taking occasion from a pique conceived against Calvin, Farel, and Viret, he began to shew a distaste for the reformers and the reformation. He brought charges of Arianism and other heresies against the three individuals just mentioned, and being unable, as might be expected, to substantiate such accusations, he was compelled, for fear of the consequences of his rashness and malevolence, to withdraw into France, deserting his wife as well as his station in the church: and there before the cardinal of Tournon, he abjured his profession of the reformed faith.[2] His situa- A. D. 1536.

[1] Ruchat, vi. 352.

[2] Ib. 422-3. Caroli, says Bayle, was "a trimmer in matters of religion," as well as licentious in his conduct. (Art. *Farel*, note L or M.) Accordingly he repeatedly changed his religion. In the year 1540 he again sought an appointment in the reformed church: on which occasion Calvin writes to him a letter, which, though plain and faithful, cannot be considered as unkind. He says, "I wish you could see my heart. I desire nothing more than first to reconcile you to God, that we may be cordially united to one another. But, believe me, you never can profitably serve God unless you lay aside your pride, and the bitterness of your tongue." He concludes: "Farewell my dear brother in the Lord, if only you suffer yourself to be loved and accounted for a brother." Epist. p. 29, 30. Op. ix. In 1543 we find him at Strasburg challenging Calvin to dispute with him: and Calvin going thither for the purpose, though the disputation never took place. Spon, i. 284. Farel appears to have entertained a bad

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Succeeded by Viret. Béat Comte.

tion was declared vacant 29 June, 1537, and Viret succeeded to it, having for his assistant Béat Comte. The latter, after serving in the ministry for eight years, quitted it, in the year 1545, for the profession of medicine, which he exercised with success at Lausanne. It is gratifying to remark that this transition from the church to another profession is an unusual course: the reverse being of much more frequent occurrence. Yet we find that the ministry of Comte had been approved, and was acknowledged at its close with an honorary gratuity from the government of Berne: and in the year 1559 he was appointed principal of the academy of Lausanne.[1]

Account of Viret.

Of Viret, now established as first pastor of Lausanne, we may here take occasion to introduce a short biographical sketch drawn from Melchior Adam and Ruchat—the latter of whom writes concerning him with much warmth of feeling, as of a fellow-countryman whom he admired. He speaks of him as the first learned man, as far as he could trace, that the Pays de Vaud, or even any part of la Suisse Romande had produced: and, in fact, it had not, he thinks, produced his superior up to the time in which he wrote. As we have seen, Viret was born at Orbe in the year 1511, and studied at

opinion of him throughout, derived from what he had observed in him on his first arrival in Switzerland, after he had been expelled by the Sorbonne as a heretic—"when he had done," says Farel, "nothing worthy of Christ, and nothing unworthy of the pope." He gives a full account of him in a letter to Calvin, dated June 11, 1543, animadverting on what he had witnessed of his pomp and pride, his wantonness and voluptuousness, and intimating his suspicions of his honesty in pecuniary matters. Calv. Epist. p 34—37. Caroli died in poverty and contempt in a hospital at Rome. Bez. vit. Calv. anno 1537.

[1] Ru. vi. 424-5.

Paris. At twenty years of age he laboured successfully in the cause of reformation in his native town and in some neighbouring parts. At twenty three he rendered no unimportant service to the reformation of Geneva; and two years afterwards sustained a principal part in the disputation of Lausanne. The next year he became pastor, and continued in that post till the year 1559, except for a short interval that he supplied Calvin's place at Geneva. From some dissatisfaction with the state of things at Lausanne, he at length yielded to an earnest invitation given him to remove to Lyons; where he exercised his ministry with great success. He preached in the open air, and wherever opportunity offered; and was, we are told, the instrument of "the conversion of thousands;" his eloquence being, according to Beza, of the most winning ingratiating kind.[1] He continued at Lyons till an edict of government, forbidding any protestant minister who was not a native of the kingdom to officiate in France, compelled him to withdraw. On this he removed to Orange and Bearn, under the government and by the invitation of the queen of Navarre; and died there, closing his life in a very happy and edifying manner, in the year 1571, at the age of sixty years. He was a man naturally of a feeble and delicate habit, and his health had been seriously injured both by the poison administered to him at Geneva, and before that time by the severe wounds which had been inflicted on him by a priest at Payerne. It may rather surprise us when we hear this, to be at the same time informed that, in addition to his active labours in the ministry, he was the author of numerous

A. D. 1536. 1537. 1541. 1559. (1533.)

[1] See below, restoration of Calvin to Geneva.

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works, distinguished, Ruchat assures us, "by a very high degree of erudition and knowledge of antiquity, sacred and profane, Greek and Latin; a profound acquaintance with the sacred scriptures; a rich vein of pious ardor; and a sweet insinuating eloquence."[1]

Synods of the Pays Romand.

Shortly before the desertion of Caroli, a synod of the clergy of the Pays Romand, as far as it was subject to Berne, had been called at Lausanne, and a regular ecclesiastical distribution of the country into seven districts, or "classes," effected; wholesome regulations both for the clergy and the people, which had been drawn up by Megander at the command of the government of Berne, being established. One of these directed frequent meetings of the clergy to be held for the purpose of their examining the scriptures together, and discussing professional questions.[2] This appears at the period under consideration to have been a favourite, as it assuredly is in itself a most reasonable, practice—suited, under proper management, to conduce greatly to the improvement of both ministers and people. It might be supposed, that under such management, it could excite the jealousy only of those who think that the great thing to be dreaded in the clergy is—their becoming too efficient.[3]

Of the ecclesiastical divisions of the country just alluded to, that of Gex was one, and that of Thonon and Ternier another. We lament

[1] Ru. vi. 352—360. Mel. Ad. ii. 61. Also Bayle, Art. *Viret.*—One of his works was on the Mass, in six books, representing it in the form of a Comedy in five acts, each divided into its several scenes!

[2] Ru. vi. 409—422.

[3] To prevent this is, according to Hume, the true and important policy of an ecclesiastical establishment. Hist. of England, c. xxix.

to find that, these districts being ceded again to the duke of Savoy in the year 1567, under the express condition that they should be allowed to retain the reformed faith, that faith was under the succeeding dukes violently suppressed, and the ministers driven out of the country. Gex indeed passed into the hands of France, and enjoyed the benefit of the edict of Nantz: but, on the revocation of that edict in the year 1685, this district was reduced to the same level with the other.[1] A.D. 1536. (1589.)

Another general synod was held in the year 1538, at which reports (not of the most gratifying nature,) of the state of the country were received, and various regulations adopted—to which the government of Berne endeavoured to give effect by a decree. But the only point which need be here distinctly noticed is, the condition on which Geneva was invited to send Calvin and Farel to the synod—namely, that the church of Geneva should agree to receive the same ceremonies as that of Berne, with respect to, 1. the observance of the four festivals of Christmas, New Year, the Annunciation, and the Ascension; 2. the use of stone fonts for baptism; and, 3. the use of unleavened bread in the Lord's supper. A difference on these trivial points, it seems, had produced a shyness between the clergy of the dependencies of Berne and those of Geneva: and the council of the former place now insisted on concession to their usage as the term of admission to the synod—though, as they expressly avowed, only for the sake of peace and uniformity, and to avoid the calumnies of their enemies.[2] But this question was connected, at least, with

[1] Ru. vi. 411—416. [2] Ru. vi. 476—496.

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results of some moment, as we shall see in the history of Calvin.

Academy of Lausanne. 1537.

Another important step taken at this time, which the exigencies of the country, whether with respect to learning or to a supply of competent ministers, loudly called for, was the establishment first of a public school, and afterwards of a college or university at Lausanne. This was accomplished under the auspices of the government of Berne, who endowed the new institution from the funds of the church and the religious houses. It subsists to this day: and, according to Ruchat, (himself a professor there,) it effected more within a few years for enlightening the population, than the numerous rich foundations of the country had done in the course of ten preceding centuries. Conrad Gesner, from Zuric, was appointed first professor of Greek in the year 1537; and the admirable Celio Secundo Curio [1] was principal of the college and professor of Belles Lettres from 1542 to 1546. Beza was appointed professor of Greek in 1549, and continued in that office for ten years, till he removed to Geneva to join Calvin, and be placed at the head of the academy formed there through his influence. John l' Epaule, or Scapula, held the same office at Lausanne in 1579; and Henry Stephen in 1592: and many other eminent men have given celebrity to this institution.[2]

Here I find several of my past sources of information fail me. Gerdes has done so to a great degree from the close of the year 1530: the Annals of Scultetus have been preserved to us only to the year 1536: and Ruchat, though he

[1] M'Crie's Italy, Index, *Curio*.
[2] Ru. vi. 446—456, 525—531.

professes in the title of his work to give the history of the Swiss Reformation to the year 1556, has but twenty small pages upon what followed the year 1540, and only ninety subsequent to 1537. Another great luminary of the church will now however challenge our attention, and of the events connected with his history we shall be able to derive sufficient information from his own writings and other competent authorities, on the one side and on the other. A. D. 1536.

CHAPTER XXIV.

HISTORY OF CALVIN.

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Calvin.

As Calvin was now established at Geneva, and will be the principal figure on the canvas throughout the remainder of the present volume, it will be proper here to introduce him to the reader by some detail of his earlier history.

His early History. 1509.

John Cauvin, Chauvin, or, according to the form which his name has taken from the Latin version of it,[1] CALVIN was born at Noyon in Picardy, July 10, 1509. His father, Gerard, and his mother, whose maiden name was Jeanne Franc, were persons of moderate fortune, and well respected by those among whom they lived. The former possessed a degree of judgment and address in the management of business, which commended him to the neighbouring gentry and nobility; whence his son received his early education with the children of a family of rank—the Mommors—though still at his father's expence.[2] He accompanied or followed these young persons to study at Paris, and had there for his Latin tutor, in the Collége de la Marche, Mathurin Cordier, still well known in

[1] Drelincourt; Defense de Calvin. Bayle, Art. *Calvin.* [2] Caly. Ded. of Seneca de Clem. Op. viii.

some of our schools under the name of Cordery. A. D. 1530.
Cordier was eminent as a teacher, and also as a man of piety. He embraced the reformed doctrine, and removed successively to Neuchâtel, Lausanne, and Geneva; at which last place he died six months after his distinguished pupil, (1564.) at the advanced age of eighty-five, having continued his labours as a teacher, in the public school or college to the end of his days.[1] Cordery.
Passing from the Collége de la Marche to that of Montaigu, Calvin had for his tutor a learned Spaniard, under whom he made rapid progress in logic and other liberal arts, as well as in grammatical studies. From his early age he was noted as a religious youth, and a somewhat stern reprover of vice among his companions. His father had destined him for the church, and hence, according to the corrupt practice of the times, had obtained for him at the early age of twelve years a benefice in the gift of 1521.
the bishop, styled the chapelry of la Gesine, in the cathedral of Noyon. He afterwards held 1527.
successively the parochial cures of Marteville, and of his father's native town of Pont l'Eveque, 1529.
in the neighbourhood: and in the latter of these places, at least, young Calvin is related to have delivered discourses to the people, "without having otherwise received any orders, under the papal hierarchy,[2]" than by simple tonsure,

[1] He is said to have imbibed the reformed doctrine from the celebrated Robert Stephen. See Senebier, Hist. Lit. de Genève, i. 338—341. The council of Lausanne, in 1540, wished to place him at the head of the college which they had founded: but the people of Neuchâtel, where he then taught, could not be persuaded to part with him. Ruchat, vi. 526.—Calvin ever retained the highest regard for him, and, in 1550, dedicated to him his Commentary on 1 Thessalonians.

[2] Beza, Vit. Calv. Drelincourt. He resigned the chapelry and the cure of Pont l'Eveque, May 4, 1534. *Bayle.*

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performed by the bishop; which is in the Romish church the first step of holy orders, and may be received at the age of seven years. His original destination was however for a time changed by the choice both of the father and the son; and he applied himself to the study of the civil law. This change was made by the choice of the father rather than of the son; the former conceiving that the law opened a surer road than the church to riches and honours. Calvin himself informs us that he was at this time much "addicted to the superstitions of the papacy:"[1] but he ere long received from his relative, Peter Robert Olivetan[2] (or d'Olivet,) some more just views of religion, and began to apply himself to the study of the scriptures.

P. de Stella.

Calvin prosecuted his studies in the civil law under Peter de Stella, or P. de l'Etoile, a celebrated professor at Orleans:[3] and such was his reputation that he was frequently called to supply the place of the different professors in their absence; and when about to leave this university his doctor's degree was offered him, free of charge, by the common consent of all the authorities. He at the same time prosecuted with great earnestness his study of the sacred scriptures; and, from the opinion entertained of his piety and his theological knowledge, he became the centre of attraction to the various persons who in that neighbourhood had begun to take an interest in religious inquiries. Indeed according to a hostile historian, Varillas, he here succeeded in turning many to the new faith.[4] His intense application to study at this period, and the progress which he made, are

[1] Præf. in Psalmos. [2] See above, p. 274, 276.
[3] He was also president of the parliament of Paris. Bayle.
[4] Middelton, Lives of the Reformers.—Above, vol. i. 133.

celebrated by his friends: but at the same time with the acknowledgment, that he probably then laid the foundation of that weakness and disorder of the digestive powers, which made him a sufferer through life, and perhaps materially shortened his days.[1]—From Orleans he proceeded to the academy of Bourges, to avail himself of the lectures of Andrew Alciati, a Milanese, esteemed the first lawyer of the age, who had been invited thither from Italy. Here also he enjoyed and profited by the acquaintance of Melchior Wolmar, a native of Rothweil in Suabia, and a man of eminent piety and learning, who was the sole preceptor from childhood to mature age of the celebrated Beza.[2] Wolmar had imbibed the reformed principles, and now professed the Latin and Greek languages at Bourges under the patronage of the duchess of Berri, afterwards queen of Navarre. Under him Calvin laid the foundation of his skill in the Greek language and literature. He at the same time applied himself to the Hebrew and Syriac, in order to the better understanding of the Old Testament—for still theology was the favourite object of his attention; and we here again read of his delivering discourses to the people in the neighbouring small town of Liniéres.[3]

A. D. 1530.

A. Alciati.

M. Wolmar.

Every step in the training of so great and influential a character becomes interesting: and we can scarcely fail to trace the hand of providence forming him for his future destina-

Steps of Calvin's training.

[1] Beza.

[2] "Eundem ego a prima pueritiâ ad pubertatem usque preceptorem unicum habui." Beza highly eulogises his master, and says that he revered him as a father. In Iconibus, et in vit. Calv. Wolmar afterwards became professor at Tubingen, under the duke of Wurtemberg.

[3] Beza.

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tion. First, his connexion with the church of Rome is carried far enough to give him a competent insight into her corrupt system:[1] then the means are provided for weakening and at length breaking that connexion. His studies in the law must have contributed much to qualify him for what he afterwards became, almost the legislator, civil as well as ecclesiastical, of Geneva. And then, lastly, theology after all supremely attracts his attention; and thus he is brought round to devote himself to the service of the church for which he had been originally intended, though with a variation in the line of service which had not entered into the contemplation of either himself or his friends.

From Bourges Calvin was recalled to his native place by the sudden death of his father. After a short stay at Noyon he removed again to Paris, where in the year 1532, being then in the twenty-third year of his age, he published his first work—Seneca's treatise *de Clementia* with a continued commentary[2]—perhaps with some hope of inspiring the mind of Francis I. with a distaste for the fires of persecution. The learning and eloquence of this youthful performance are highly commended. Calvin at this time made the acquaintance of an eminent merchant, Stephen Forgeus, or de la Forge, to whom he was much attached, and

His first publication, 1532.

[1] In his will he gives thanks to God for "having delivered him from the deep darkness of idolatry, in which he had been plunged."

[2] Calv. Op. viii.—On April 4. 1532, on which day the dedication is dated, Calvin must have been in his 23d year, not in his 24th, as Beza has reckoned.—Bayle says, "M. Varillas's faults in relation to this piece are so enormous, that they are enough to make one forswear the study of history." He exposes them, art. *Calvin*.

who afterwards suffered martyrdom for the faith: and now also it was that he came to the resolution of abandoning all inferior pursuits to devote himself to the service of God and religion: a determination which we are told gave the highest satisfaction to all those pious persons who privately met together in Paris, to promote their own and each other's spiritual improvement. [1]

A.D. 1532.

He devotes himself to religion.

It was not long before public attention was in some degree drawn towards him. Nicholas Cop, or Copus, son of a citizen of Basle who had become physician to the king of France, [2] was then rector of the university of Paris. For him Calvin prepared an oration, to be delivered according to custom on All Saints' day; and introduced into it so much of the reformed principles that it gave high offence to the doctors of the Sorbonne, and through them to the parliament of Paris. The consequence was that the rector was obliged to fly the country; and Calvin and his friends were brought into great danger. [3] He was protected by the queen of Navarre: but he quitted Paris, and retired into Saintonge, to Louis du Tillet, [4] canon of Angoulesme. Here he made himself useful, and attempted to diffuse scriptural truth, by supplying to the neighbouring clergy brief homilies to be recited to their congregations. [5]

N. Cop.

Persecuted.

1533. Nov.

[1] Beza. [2] Nicholas also was a physician. Calv. Epist. 1.

[3] A party proceeded to seize Calvin in his lodgings in the Collége de Fortret, but happily he was from home. *Beza.* Maimbourg and others make him to have escaped out of the window by the aid of his sheets, just in time to save himself. But their account is not to be trusted. *Bayle.*

[4] Drelincourt. Tillet had a brother John, registrar of the parliament of Paris: and another who was bishop of Meaux.

[5] Maimbourg also sends him to Poitiers, and makes him administer the sacrament there in caves and gardens: but Beza says nothing of this, and Bayle discredits it.

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Faber Stapulensis.

At Nerac, not far from Calvin's present residence, there now lived under the same patronage of the queen of Navarre, by which he himself was protected, a venerable and very interesting character, Faber Stapulensis, or James le Fevre of Estaples. He had been professor of mathematics in the university of Paris: but, being a man of enlightened piety, he had, besides introducing great improvements in his own department of the sciences, extended his cares further, and opposed the scholastic theology of the times, seeking to substitute for it a sounder system of instruction. By these means he had drawn upon himself the mortal hatred of the Sorbonne, and had with difficulty escaped the hands of the inquisitors.[1] To this venerable person, now in extreme old age, Calvin paid a visit, which as it appears to have been very gratifying to the former, so it would no doubt be impressive and edifying to the latter. Le Fevre is said to have formed high anticipations from his youthful friend.

Servetus at Paris. 1534.

Calvin now again ventured to Paris, notwithstanding the persecutions that prevailed; and there, even at the risk of his life, sought to give the meeting to Servetus, who was already spreading his antitrinitarian heresies, and who professed to desire nothing more earnestly than the opportunity of entering into discussion with

[1] Bayle, Art. *Calvin*. Beza in his Icones speaks of him as a man, who, though of low origin and possessing few advantages, became admirable for piety and learning, and succeeded in "chasing away barbarism from the most famous university in the world." Mr. Middelton in the account of Calvin, in his Lives of the Reformers, gives a story of an interview of the queen of Navarre with Le Fevre which is highly interesting, if its truth may be relied upon. But compare Bayle, art. Fevre. Le Fevre died in 1537. He had never actually quitted the church of Rome.

Calvin. The time and place for a meeting between them were appointed: but Servetus did not keep his engagement. A. D. 1534.

The violence of religious persecution in France[1] made Calvin determine to quit his native country: and accordingly, after printing at Orleans his book against the sleep of the soul from death to the resurrection,[2] which is said to display an intimate acquaintance both with the scriptures and the fathers, he departed for Basle, accompanied by his friend Tillet. He took Strasburg in his way, and there contracted an intimate friendship with Capito and Simon Grynæus, which he continued at Basle, and even till it was terminated by death. At Basle he applied himself diligently to Hebrew literature, and wished to live as retired as possible, for the sake of prosecuting his studies. But circumstances soon called him forth to more public services, and gave occasion to the most celebrated of all his writings. We have before related the inconsistent conduct of Francis I. king of France, in persecuting with unrelenting severity the protestants of his own country, while, for political purposes, he sought closely to ally himself with those of Germany.[3] To appease the resentment which the martyrdoms of January 1535 had excited, he pretended to the German princes that he had done nothing more than put to death a few seditious anabaptists. Calvin could not silently suffer this imputation to be cast upon the protestants of his native country, and his zeal to defend them and exhibit a true representation of their principles produced the publication, though at

Calvin withdraws to Basle.

Writes his Institutes. 1534-5.

[1] See vol. i. 189.
[2] "Psychopannychia." Op. viii. 335—355.
[3] Vol. i. 188—190.

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first in a more brief and rude form,[1] of his "Institutes of the Christian Religion," with the admired prefatory address to the king of France[2]—which is "such," says Beza, "that, had his own sins and the sins of his people permitted a prince of Francis's excellent judgment to read it, it could hardly have failed to inflict a severe wound on the corrupt church of Rome." Thus among the many observable ordinations of divine providence it may be noted, that to the persecutions and false allegations of the king of France do we owe a work, which not even any candid or reasonable opponent of some of its doctrines will deny to have proved of signal service to the church of God.

Visits Italy.

After the publication of his Institutes Calvin proceeded to Italy, to visit the celebrated Renée duchess of Ferrara, who, like the queen of Navarre, was then the patroness of religion and learning. "He received the most distinguished attentions from the duchess, who was confirmed in the protestant faith by his instructions, and ever after entertained the highest respect for his character and talents."[3]

From Italy, which, says he, "I entered only that I might come out of it,"[4] (referring pro-

[1] "Operis longe maximi rudimentum." *Beza.* "Breve duntaxat enchiridion." *Calv.* præf. in Psalmos.

[2] See vol. ii. pref. p. vii.

[3] See the interesting notices of this princess, who was the daughter of Louis XII. of France, in M'Crie's Reformation in Italy, pp. 68—72, 172, 192, 199, 214—218.

[4] Beza. Senebier, after Muratori, concludes from a pillar erected at Aost in Piemont, that Calvin at this time preached the reformed doctrine with some success at that place, though he was eventually driven away. The inscription quoted is this: "Hanc Calvini liga erexit anno 1541, Religionis constantia reparavit anno 1741." The first must

bably to his being more set against popery by what he witnessed in its head quarters,) he returned into France for the last time;[1] and, having settled all his affairs there, and taking with him his brother Anthony, he set out anew to take up his abode at Basle or Strasburg. But the war which then raged compelled him to make his route through Dauphiny and Savoy: and thus was he conducted without, or even against, his own inclinations to the destined scene of his future labours, the city of Geneva. Coming to Geneva, he as a matter of course visited Farel and Viret. They urged him to stay with them and share their labours, in which they much needed assistance: but he shewed no disposition to comply with the proposal; when Farel, with the extraordinary confidence and ardor which characterized him, thus addressed his guest: "I take upon me to denounce to you in the name of Almighty God, that, if you thus, under the pretext of prosecuting your studies, refuse to labour with us in the work of the Lord, his curse will rest upon you, as a man that *seeks his own, and not the things of Jesus Christ.*" Such positive decisions, as to the course which other persons ought to pursue, can seldom be properly pronounced, any more than such denunciations uttered. The promises of God "to direct our steps," as a wise and holy man[2] observes, extend less to teaching *others* what is *our* duty, than to discovering it to ourselves—though it is true that this may be done by means of others. Yet in the present case it cannot

A. D. 1536.

Visits Geneva,

be intended for the date of the erection, not of the "flight" or banishment. Senebier, i. 182.

[1] Ruchat. [2] Halyburton.

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and settles there. 1536.

reasonably be denied that the result was happy and important: and Calvin would never afterwards durably repent of following the advice given him. Overcome by Farel's urgency, he surrendered himself to the disposal of the consistory and magistrates of Geneva, by whom he was appointed a professor of divinity, and soon after, with the consent of the people, a pastor of the church—an office which at first he would fain have declined.[1] This took place in the month of August, 1536, in the twenty-eighth year of Calvin's age—a year distinguished, as we have seen, by a closer alliance than before between Geneva and Berne; by the disputation of Lausanne; and by the accession of that city to the number of the reformed.

State of Geneva.

The situation of Geveva at this time was peculiar; and Calvin soon found that it was no easy or enviable post that he was called to occupy. Various circumstances had concurred to bring things to their present state: the ignorance and superstition which had long prevailed: the extreme corruption of the clergy, which produced its own likeness in the manners of the people: the long and arduous struggle in which the city had been engaged for liberty and independence, and which could scarcely fail of being attended with much relaxation of discipline: even the happy result of that

[1] "Non concionator tantum, (hoc autem recusarat,) sed etiam sacrarum literarum doctor." *Beza.* Beza's words have been misunderstood. *Bayle.*—"Doctoris primum, deinde pastoris munere in ecclesia illa functus sum." Calv. ad Sadolet. Op. viii. 105. Senebier objects that he could not be called a *professor* before the academy of Geneva was founded. But that is only a question about a word. He was evidently to deliver lectures to students, as contradistinguished to preaching to the people.

struggle would naturally for a time work the same effect—since numbers would think themselves entitled, in reward of their services and sufferings, now that they had cast off the yoke of the pope and the duke of Savoy, to be subjected to scarcely any yoke at all, but rather to live according to their own pleasure. Add to this, that many of those who had outwardly acceded to the new form of religion were still in their hearts attached to the discarded system, and were ready to take every opportunity of thwarting and crippling the efforts of the reformers. Party spirit also ran high, and violent feuds existed between families and individuals.—Against all the disorders which arose from these various causes, Calvin, Farel, and Courault (a blind but learned minister, who had zealously contended for the truth, and had been introduced by Calvin first to Basle and then to Geneva,) determinately set themselves. They were strict disciplinarians, as well as avowed enemies to every remnant of popery. In consequence they were soon involved in stormy contests, some of which proved too powerful for them, and for a time drove them all, and two of the three permanently, from their station.

A. D. 1537.

Courault.

Their first conflict was with the Anabaptists, who began to shew themselves in the city as soon as the reformation was established, and had even acquired partisans in the council. This disorderly sect was however more easily suppressed here than in other places. The reformed ministers entered into a public disputation with them: and the council, being satisfied that they could not maintain their tenets from the scriptures, denounced a sentence of banishment for life against all who should

Contentions with the Anabaptists. 1537.

Mar. 18.

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attempt to teach their doctrines at Geneva: a measure which, added to the exposure the party had received in the disputation, proved effectual, and stifled the sect in its birth.[1]

Accusations of P. Caroli.

Their next assailant was Peter Caroli, who, as before mentioned, formally brought against them the charge of Arianism and other heresies—a charge which produced more impression, at a time when such multitudes "watched for their halting," than would have been imagined.[2] The question was brought successively before the synods of Lausanne and Berne, and then before the council of the latter place, which pronounced sentence of banishment against the author of so unfounded and injurious an accusation.[3]

Confession, Liturgy,

Beza makes Calvin immediately after his settlement at Geneva to have drawn up a "Formulary of Christian Doctrine," to which it appears some articles of discipline were also appended; and to have set himself, in conjunction with Farel and Courault, to induce the citizens at large, in their popular assembly, to abjure popery, and swear to observe the scheme of doctrine and order thus prepared for them: and he adds, that, though at that time many refused it, yet in the month of July in the following year (1537) this object was effected. Senebier[4] objects to this account as incorrect, and as confounding things which were separated by a considerable lapse of time. Popery,

[1] Beza. Spon, i, 274-5.
[2] Calv. Epist. p. 127. Bayle, art. *Farel.*
[3] Bez. vit. Calv.—Calv. ut supra.
[4] Hist. Lit. de Geneve, i. 183—185.—He further censures Beza for saying that the Confession was "composed" in 1536, because it was not "published" till 1537: though he admits that it was "read" in the council in November of the former year!

he observes, had been publicly abjured in May 1536, before Calvin's arrival, and fourteen months prior to the confirmation of the confession. A repetition of the act might however accompany that confirmation. But the formulary or confession itself, he says, is ascribed by Spon[1] and other writers, and apparently with good reason, to Farel and not to Calvin. Indeed it appears that the piece referred to was no other than that of which we have already given an account as *Farel's Confession*,[2] and which Ruchat, without intimating that it had ever been doubted, attributes to that reformer. —This publication was immediately followed by a short Catechism from the pen of Calvin, adapted to the condition of a people who needed instruction in the most elementary parts of religion.[3] A. D. 1537. and Catechism of Geneva.

Many however rebelled against the checks

[1] Spon, i. 275.

[2] Above, p. 311, Ruchat says that that confession was read and approved in the grand council in November, 1536, and that it afterwards received the sanction of the assembled people: (v. 590:) and it was the same also that many objected to receive: (vi. 457:) in all which points it agrees with what Beza calls Calvin's confession. And further, I do not find that it is inserted in Calvin's Works.—The perverse and absurd spirit which dictated much of the opposition made may be judged of by the following specimen. "We are required to swear to observe the confession," said the malcontents: "but that confession contains the ten commandments, which it is impossible for men to observe!" Ru. vi. 457.—Thus they deluded themselves, or attempted to impose upon others, by the common error of confounding different senses of the same word: as if the sense in which they were required to *observe* the confession, and that in which it is impossible for fallen man to *observe*, that is perfectly to keep, the divine law, were the same!

[3] It appears in his works (viii. 1—37,) as it was altered and much enlarged in the year 1545, with the addition of a formulary for public prayers and the administration of the sacraments.

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thus attempted to be imposed on them, and against the faithful and somewhat vehement denunciations which their preachers continually uttered against their licentious manners. Courault was even thrown into prison for persevering, after admonition, in his protestations against the supineness of the magistrates in checking these evils.[1] But that which brought matters to a crisis was the following proceeding of the ministers. Finding it impossible to appease, or even to keep under decent restraint, the bitter animosities which were cherished between many principal families, they came to the resolution of declaring, that they could not consent to administer the Lord's supper among a people who lived in such enmity one against another, as well as in such breaches of good morals and defiance of ecclesiastical discipline: and thus it would seem that they actually suspended the celebration of the communion altogether. This was certainly an extreme measure: and it produced, as might have been expected, violent resistance. The malcontents wanted not the dexterity to combine with this subject of complaint, concerning the sacrament, another, which had a slight connexion with it, and on which they contrived to commit the ministers in a variance with the council. We have before adverted to the difference between the religious rites of Berne and those of Geneva[2]—one of which respected the bread used in the Lord's supper. The second synod of Lausanne[3] had decided, that Geneva should be called upon to use unleavened bread, and in other respects to conform to the ceremonies of Berne: a demand which the council of Berne

The ministers committed in controversy

with the people,

[1] Spon, i. 276-7.

[2] Above p. 333.

[3] Above, p. 333: Ruchat, vi. 478—496.

urged that of Geneva to comply with: and, all the enemies of Farel and Calvin now concurring with those who were favourable to these ceremonies, the order was issued for their adoption. The ministers did not peremptorily refuse to comply: but they contended for a postponement of the order—alleging that the synod of Lausanne had agreed on an adjournment of the question to a synod of several of the Helvetian churches shortly to be held at Zuric, so as to give the ministers of Geneva the opportunity of being more fully heard against the imposition of these rites, and to take advantage of the united wisdom of the country in deciding upon it. They urged therefore that no change should be made till that meeting had taken place. The council however refused to comply with their demand: and, on their persisting, forbad them the use of their pulpits. The ministers disregarded the prohibition, and preached both parts of the ensuing Sunday, Farel in the church of S. Gervais, and Calvin in the cathedral.[1] In consequence, amidst all the excitement that prevailed, the syndics of the year placing themselves at the head of the disaffected, an order passed first the little council, then the grand council, and finally, on the twenty-third of April, the assembly of the people, for the banishment of Calvin, Farel, and Courault, for their contumacy, and their refusal to administer the sacrament of the Lord's supper.[2] While the enmity to the restraints

A. D. 1538.

and the council.

Calvin, Farel, and Courault banished. 1538.

[1] Courault was still in prison.

[2] Bez. vit. Calv.—Spon, i. 276—278. The minute in the registers of the council (of which extracts have been published,) is, "Resolved, to forbid the pulpit to Calvin if he refuses to administer the supper after the manner of Berne."

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of religion and to all righteousness, which influenced their adversaries, is but too manifest, it is not easy altogether to justify the conduct of the ministers of Geneva on this painful occasion. They seem to have attempted to carry things with too high a hand, to have been far from conciliatory, and in the last instance at least, of resolving to preach in the churches in defiance of the prohibition of the magistrates, (which was clearly a mere temporary measure,) not to have justly appreciated the obedience due from subjects to their rulers.

Calvin, on being informed of the decree of banishment, observed, "Had I been the servant of men, I must have complained of being ill-requited: but it is well for me that I have served One who never deserts those who devote themselves to him."[1]

It might have been apprehended that the step now taken must be fatal to the infant church of Geneva: but Beza observes that, under the direction of the great Head of the church, it only proved the means of its purification; since those persons who were the disgrace and bane of the society were suffered thus to expose themselves, and eventually to procure their own separation from it. Calvin also, the same writer adds, by the additional experience he acquired during his absence in other scenes of service, became better qualified for the important part he was yet to act at Geneva. Farel and Calvin, on quitting Geneva, went first to Berne, to justify their conduct to their friends at that place, and thence proceeded

A previous entry records a prohibition "to the preachers, particularly Farel and Calvin, to intermeddle with politics."

[1] Beza. Spon informs us that he had never yet received any stipend, but had borne his own expences.

to Zuric, to the synod which, it has been said, was to be held there. They here declared, that, though they could not allow the disputed observances to be forced upon them in the manner that had been attempted, they had no wish to prolong the contest, and divide the church upon such questions, and that they would therefore agree to the use of the ceremonies. Their behaviour gave great satisfaction to the synod; which in consequence solicited the government of Berne to intercede with that of Geneva for their recall. This was accordingly done: and Peter Viret and one of the ministers of Berne joined the deputation to Geneva. But it was of no avail: the councils and the citizens were not to be softened: they were exasperated against the expelled ministers; and many of the people offered the grossest insults to their memory, particularly that of Farel, to whom they were so much indebted: and the decree of banishment was confirmed by the almost unanimous vote of the popular assembly, after the heat wherein it had first been passed had had nearly five weeks in which to cool. In short it became manifest that the ceremonies were the mere pretext, and that it was the enmity of sin against righteousness, and its rebellion against all restraint, which actuated too great a proportion of the people of Geneva at this period. This sad spirit continued to prevail and to govern the public counsels for some time; so that Saunier, Cordier, and other friends of Farel and Calvin were added to the number of the banished, so long after as the Christmas following.[1]

A. D. 1538.

May 26.

[1] Spon, i. 278-9. Senebier, i. 188. Beza. The last writer does not mention Calvin's ready consent to submit to the disputed rites, expressed to the synod at Zuric, as I have

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Calvin settles at Strasburg.

Finding their exclusion from Geneva confirmed, Calvin proceeded to Basle, and thence to Strasburg, in which latter city he received a cordial welcome from Bucer, Capito, Hedio, and other distinguished friends. He was immediately appointed a professor of divinity, with a liberal stipend. On his expulsion from Geneva he had almost resolved not again to undertake a pastoral charge. By the entreaties however of his friends he was induced, with the express sanction of the senate, to establish a French church, for the benefit of his countrymen resident in the city, in which the form of discipline and government which he approved was introduced.[1] Farel retired to Neuchâtel. Of Courault we find no further mention in the histories: which I learn from a letter of Calvin's to Farel, dated 24 October, 1538, is owing to his having died soon after his removal from Geneva.[2] James Bernard and some other reformed ministers, whose conduct appears to have been timid, and was unsatisfactory to Calvin,[3]

related it from the annotator on Spon and Senebier: but he does say that he wrote to his friends at Geneva not to contend about "istud ἀδιάφορον"—the indifferent circumstance of unleavened bread in the eucharist: and also that Calvin himself, on his return to Geneva, made no further opposition to the observance in question, which he found introduced. "De quo ... nunquam contendendum putavit, minime tamen dissimulans quid alioqui magis esset probaturus."

[1] Calv. Epist. Op. ix. p. 261 (a).

[2] Calv. Epist. p. 4, 5. Calvin deplores his death in the most passionate manner. He commences thus: "I am thrown into such consternation by the death of Courault that I can set no bounds to my sorrow... The more cruel tortures of the night succeed to the miserable distresses of the day," &c. He seems to imply that his friend had died by treachery or violence, perhaps in some way proceeding from those who had driven him from Geneva.

[3] Beza says before the troubles began—"Most of his (Calvin's) colleagues, from timidity, shunning disturbance."

remained at Geneva; and Henry la Mare of Jussy, and other country pastors were called in to carry on the religious services of the city. La Mare at first opposed the disputed ceremonies, and was imprisoned for so doing: but he afterwards submitted;[1] and the ceremonies were introduced, and were for many years observed in the church of Geneva.[2] A. D. 1539.

Those who watched over the interests of the papal church suffered not so promising an opportunity to pass, without endeavouring to regain the Genevese to her communion. That communion had been but recently renounced among them: the authority of the new pastors had been since violently set at naught, and all the leading men of their body expelled; and their place was now supplied by incompetent persons. Sanguine hopes of success were entertained by the Romanists; and the learned, eloquent, and respectable cardinal Sadolet, bishop of the neighbouring see of Carpentras, in Dauphiny, was employed to make the attempt. He addressed to "his dearly beloved brethren the magistracy, council, and citizens of Geneva," (with whom, as Calvin tells him, his intercourse was now first opened, and his affection first excited towards them,) a flattering and artful epistle,[3] in which nothing was omitted that might induce 'the wandering dove to return into the secure ark of the true church.' The council contented themselves with courteously acknowledging the letter, holding out the expectation of a more detailed Cardinal Sadolet's letter to the Genevese. March.

See also a letter of Bernard's to Calvin, Calv. Epist. p. 12, and Calvin's reply, p. 260. This was not the James Bernard who procured the disputation of Geneva, in 1535.

[1] Perhaps by Calvin's advice: see note p. 353-4.

[2] Spon, i. 277-8. The unleavened bread was continued till 1623.

[3] Calv. Op. viii. 99—104.

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reply. But no one was now found at Geneva qualified and disposed to meet it with a due answer: and it might probably, Beza observes, have proved very seductive, but for the happy circumstance of its being written in a dead language. But Calvin, though unworthily treated, and in banishment, was not unmindful of his destitute flock. He had already repeatedly addressed to them wise and paternal letters, conveying advice suited to their circumstances;[1] and he now, on receiving a copy of the cardinal's letter, seasonably stepped forward, and returned such an answer to it as left its author little to hope for from his well-concerted effort.[2] Indeed the magistrates of Geneva shewed no disposition to return to the communion of Rome: on the contrary they soon after this time, from what they supposed necessary to the safety of the state, came to the resolution to exclude from the city all those who would not declare their rejection of the Roman-catholic religion.[3]

Calvin's Reply.

Sept. 1.

[1] Calv. Epist. p. 3, 4, 10—12. He exhorted them principally to "repentance towards God, forbearance towards the authors of their troubles, concord with their pastors, and devout prayer." Beza.

[2] Beza. Calv. Op. viii. 105—115. Both the letter of Sadolet and the reply may be read with interest, as eloquent compositions which present scarcely any thing offensive even to the courtesy of modern controversy.

[3] Spon, i. 279—281, notes. One remarkable case occurred in which the magistrates were disposed to carry their jealousies to a most absurd length. John Ballard, a member of the council, being required to explain himself on the subject of religion, declared that, if he felt himself qualified to pronounce either that the mass was *good* or that it was *bad*, he would not hesitate to do so: but his mind, he said, was really undecided, and therefore he ought not to be required to pronounce either way: he was content to acquiesce in the form of religion adopted by the state, and would promise to cause no disturbance, nor give any trouble.—It was with difficulty, however, that he escaped being compelled to quit the city. *Ib.*

A. D. 1540.

Calvin's writings.

Calvin now also republished his Institutes, much enlarged; and gave to the world his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, and a treatise on the Lord's Supper, which Beza thinks might well have been allowed to terminate the various controversies on that subject. It was written in French for the use of his congregation at Strasburg. It appears also that he had considerable success, while resident in that city, in reclaiming Anabaptists. Two are particularly specified: Paul Volsius, to whom Erasmus had dedicated his "Enchiridion," and who became a pastor at Strasburg; and John Storder, whose widow, Idolette de Bure, a person of great merit, Calvin, by the advice of his friend Bucer, married. [1]

His marriage. 1540.

Deputed to Worms and Ratisbon. 1540-1.

Such were Calvin's employments at Strasburg till the close of the year 1540. [2] In that and the following year he was, at the instance of the ministers of the city, deputed with Bucer to assist at the conferences of Worms and Ratisbon, held for the purpose, if possible, of effecting a pacification between the Romanists and the Protestants. Here he became acquainted with Melancthon and Cruciger; the former of whom frequently honoured him with the distinctive appellation of "the Divine." [3]

Disorders of Geneva.

In the mean time things fell into great disorder, both political and religious, at Geneva: and it is remarked, that, of the four syndics who had made themselves leaders in the violent proceedings of the year 1538, within two

[1] Beza. Bayle.

[2] He was present at Francfort at the time of the convention in 1539, and was named to attend the conference which was to take place at Nuremberg. Above, i. 205. Seckendorf, ii. 205. Calvin gives an account of the proceedings, Epist. p. 5—8.

[3] Beza. See above, vol. i. 266, &c.

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years, one was executed for murder; a second, endeavouring to descend the town-wall, in order to escape apprehension for sedition, fell, and died of the injuries he received; and the other two incurred the sentence of banishment, for having betrayed the interests of the city in an embassy with which they had been charged.[1]

Recall of Calvin. 1541.

These troubles and these changes made way for the recall of the banished ministers. As early as the 21 October, 1540, we find Calvin adverting to the possibility of a recall: but the thoughts of returning to Geneva are quite distressing to him. He describes in the strongest terms the anxieties he had there suffered, and says he shuddered to think of plunging again into such a sea of troubles, from the peaceful and happy situation which he now enjoyed. Yet he wished not to shrink from his duty, and would rather that others should decide for him than determine for himself.[2] We have a letter addressed to him by James Bernard, 6 February 1541, telling him that the general cry was now for Calvin, and pressing his return. The writer assures him he will find the Genevese "a new people—become such by the grace of God, and through the instrumentality of Viret."[3] On the same day that he answered this letter, March 1, he writes to Viret, "The further I advance, the more sensible am I how arduous a charge is that of governing a church:" and he adds, that "there is no place under heaven that he more dreads than Geneva." Yet he would decline nothing that might be for the welfare of that church. He was willing "to spend and be spent for it."[4] On the 4th

[1] Spon, i. 279—282. Beza. [2] Epist. p. 13, 14.
[3] Ib. 12, 13. Calvin answers from Ulm, on his way to Ratisbon, March 1. p. 260-1. [4] Ib. 14.

of April the pastors of Zuric wrote to him pressing his return to Geneva. Among other considerations they urge the vast importance of the station, arising from the local situation of Geneva, "on the confines both of Germany, Italy, and France;" such that, were that post well occupied, there would be a prospect of the gospel's spreading from it, as a centre, into all those countries.[1] From both this letter and the preceding it would seem that "an honourable deputation" had been sent to him from the council of Geneva,[2] to solicit his return. The field was not yet however fairly open before him. It was not till the first of May, 1541, that the decree of banishment was rescinded, and the ejected ministers were declared to be at liberty to return when they pleased. But this decree, which of itself sounds somewhat cold, was followed by earnest applications for his return, which even the councils of Zuric and Basle were engaged to second, and to use their influence to obtain the consent of Strasburg to his removal.[3]

A. D. 1541.

As it respected Farel, this permission, though accompanied with some solicitations for his return, had no effect. He was too firmly fixed, and too well employed, at Neuchâtel to consent to return to Geneva. He was however among the most urgent and influential of those who advised Calvin not to hesitate about resuming the important post which was offered him. But for the present that reformer was engaged in his mission to the conferences at Ratisbon,

[1] Ib. 261-2.

[2] That it was from the council, which I had before doubted, appears from a minute extracted from their register.

[3] Beza. Spon, i. 283, note. Registers.

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from which he could not be released: and the senate of Strasburg were most reluctant to part with him. Indeed they would not consent to resign him except for a limited time. Nor was his own reluctance yet overcome. Bucer, we are told, when he thought the call had become too clear to be resisted, was obliged to interfere, to press upon his friend the consideration of the example of Jonah, and to threaten him with the displeasure of heaven if he still resisted. And so late as the 25th of August we find Farel chiding his delay in the most anxious and spirited manner.[1] Before that period however, it would seem, he had given his consent. In the mean time as the country ministers, finding themselves little esteemed, had withdrawn, and Geneva was so ill supplied, Viret was, by the advice of Calvin and the several eminent ministers with whom he was now surrounded, procured from Lausanne to undertake the principal pastoral charge of the place, till Calvin should be able to repair thither.[2] Remarkable however is the language in which he expresses himself to Farel in announcing his decision: "Since I remember that I am not my own, nor at my own disposal, I give myself up, tied and bound, as a sacrifice to God."[3] His return at length took place on the 13th of September, 1541, and the proceedings which accompanied it were highly honourable to all parties concerned. The citizens and council of Geneva felicitated themselves on having regained their faithful, learned, and very able pastor, and

His return. Sept.

[1] Calv. Epist. p. 262.

[2] This advice was conveyed in a letter (without date) from Capito, Hedio, Bucer, John Sturmius, and others. Ib. 15.

[3] Epist. 18, 19. I combine two sentences in different parts of the same epistle.

rested not till the temporary grant of his services, at first made by Strasburg, was converted into an absolute and permanent surrender. Strasburg on the other hand insisted on his retaining the privileges of a citizen, and the stipend which they had assigned him while resident among them. But Calvin, though he gladly accepted the former mark of respect, could never be induced to receive the appointed reward of services which he no longer rendered —"there being nothing," says Beza, "that he less desired than riches."[1] A. D. 1541.

He seems to have been not merely gratified but deeply affected by his reception at Geneva. "I had intended," he says, "on my return to address the people, entering into a review of the past, and a justification of myself and my colleagues; but I found them so touched with remorse, so ready to anticipate me in the confession of their faults, that I felt that such a proceeding would not only be superfluous but cruel."[2] A decree had been adopted in the general assembly of the people, in which the republic at large acknowledged "the great injury they had done him, and implored forgiveness of Almighty God." A deputation was also sent at his suggestion to invite Farel to visit them, and "to the city where the deceased minister (Courault) was buried," conveying a testimony of respect for his memory.[3] His reception.

Every one must perceive how honourable to Calvin's character, and how flattering to his feelings, all this must have been. If we may believe his own account, his conduct was also now very forbearing towards some of his colleagues. Beza had previously told us that,

[1] Beza. Spon, i. 283. [2] Epist. p. 19. Farello, Nov. 1541.
[3] Ib. 19 (b). 263 (b).

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from the first, "most of them had been timid, and some of them had secretly obstructed the work of the Lord;" and Calvin after his return complains of several whom he found in possession as "arrogant, fierce, destitute alike of zeal and of learning, and secretly counteracting the measures in which they professed to concur;" and he adds, "I might have gained applause by severity towards them, and have put them all to rout with ease: but I abstained; and I pray God to preserve me in the same moderation."[1]

Review of these Transactions by Hooker.

The transactions which we have here been relating have been subjected to so remarkable a review from our own illustrious Hooker, that I shall not scruple to transcribe a considerable portion of what he has written on the subject, subjoining a few brief remarks on his statements.

Speaking of the presbyterian discipline in the preface to his Ecclesiastical Polity, he says: "A founder it had, whom for mine own part I think incomparably the wisest man that ever the French church did enjoy, since the hour it enjoyed him. His bringing up was in the study of the civil law. Divine knowledge he gathered, not by hearing or reading, so much as by teaching others. For, though thousands were debtors to him as touching knowledge in that kind, yet he to none but only to God, the author of that most blessed fountain the book of life, and of the admirable dexterity of wit, together with the helps of other learning, which were his guides, till, being occasion to leave France, he fell at the

[1] Epist. p. 26, 27, 263. "Discord among ministers," he observes, "is fatal to the church:" on which account he kept terms with his colleagues to the utmost of his power.

length upon Geneva." Having then spoken of the popular civil government of that city, Hooker proceeds: "For spiritual government, they had no laws at all agreed upon, but did what the pastors of their souls by persuasion could win them unto. Calvin, being admitted one of their preachers and a divinity reader amongst them, considered how dangerous it was, that the whole estate of that church should hang still on so slender a thread, as the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if it have power to change whatsoever itself listeth. Wherefore, taking unto him two of the other ministers,[1] for more countenance of the action, (albeit the rest were all against it,) they moved, and in the end persuaded, with much ado, the people to bind themselves by solemn oath, first never to admit the papacy amongst them again,[2] and secondly to live in obedience unto such orders concerning the exercise of their religion and the form of their ecclesiastical government, as those their true and faithful ministers of God's word had agreeably to scripture set down for that end and purpose. When these things began to be put in ure, the people also (what causes moving them thereunto themselves best know,) began to repent them of that they had done, and irefully to champ upon the bit they had taken into their mouths; the rather, for that they grew, by means of this innovation, into dislike with some churches near about them, the benefit of whose good friendship their state could not well lack."—He then notices it as "the manner of those times.... that every particular church did that within itself, which some few of their own thought good, by whom the rest were all directed:"

A. D. 1541.

[1] Farel and Courault. [2] He follows Beza. Above, p. 348.

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and considers it as "a great inconvenience, that *every later (church) endeavoured to be certain degrees more removed from conformity with the church of Rome, than the rest before had been;* whereupon (he proceeds) grew marvellous great dissimilitudes, and, by reason thereof, jealousies, heart-burnings, jars, and discords amongst them. Which notwithstanding might have easily been prevented, if the orders, which each church did think fit and convenient for itself, had not so peremptorily been established under that high commanding form, which rendered them unto the people, as things everlastingly required by the law of that Lord of lords, against whose statutes there is no exception to be taken. For by this mean it came to pass, that one church could not but accuse and condemn another of disobedience to the will of Christ, in those things where manifest difference was between them; whereas the self-same orders allowed, but yet established in more wary and suspense manner, as being to stand in force till God should give the opportunity of some general conference, what might be best for them afterwards to do: this, I say, had both prevented all occasion of just dislike which others might take, and reserved a greater liberty unto the authors themselves, of entering into further consultation afterwards. Which, though never so necessary, they could not easily now admit, without some fear of derogation from their credit: and therefore that which once they had done, they became for ever after resolute to maintain. Calvin therefore and the other two his associates, stiffly refusing to administer the holy communion to such as would not quietly, without contradiction and murmur, submit themselves unto the order

which their solemn oath had bound them to obey, were in that quarrel banished the town. A few years after, (such was the levity of that people,) the places of one or two of their ministers being fallen void, they were not before so willing to be rid of their learned pastor, as now importunate to obtain him again from them who had given him entertainment, and which were loath to part with him, had not unresistible earnestness been used. One of the town ministers,[1] that saw in what manner the people were bent for the revocation of Calvin, gave him notice of their affection in this sort: 'The senate of two hundred being assembled, 'they all crave Calvin. The next day a general 'convocation (of the people), they cry in like 'sort again all, We will have Calvin, that good 'and learned man, Christ's minister. This,' saith he, 'when I understood, I could not 'choose but praise God: nor was I able to 'judge otherwise, than that this was the Lord's 'doing, and that it was marvellous in our eyes; 'and that the stone which the builders refused, 'was now made the head of the corner.'.... Many causes might lead them to be more desirous of him. First, his yielding unto them in one thing might happily put them in hope, that time would breed the like easiness of condescending further unto them[2].....Again, they saw that the name of Calvin waxed every day greater abroad, and that together with his fame their infamy was spread, who had so rashly and childishly ejected him. Besides it was not unlikely, but that his credit in the world might many ways stand the poor town in

A. D. 1541.

[1] James Bernard. Above, p. 358,

[2] He refers to the admission of unleavened bread in the eucharist.

great stead: as the truth is, their ministers' foreign estimation hitherto hath been the best stake in their hedge. But, whatsoever secret respects were likely to move them, for contenting of their minds, Calvin returned (as it had been another Tully,) to his old home."[1]

Remarks on Hooker's representation.

1. The first thing which calls for notice in this extract is, the extraordinarily high commendation which Hooker bestows upon Calvin, at the very time that he is writing against the system of church government which he introduced. Nor, as we shall hereafter see, are Hooker's eulogies of Calvin here exhausted. But I forbear to dwell upon the fact. Candour will at once allow it its due weight; and prejudice will rather condemn the *judicious* Hooker, than admit Calvin to deserve praise.

2. In the next place, we cannot but remark the very temperate and conciliatory tone in which the great champion of our church speaks of the form of discipline, abstractedly considered, which was opposed to it. "If the orders, which each church did think fit and convenient for it, had not so peremptorily been established under that high commanding form, which rendered them unto the people as things everlastingly required by the law of the Lord of lords."—And again: "The self-same orders allowed, but yet established in a more wary and suspense manner.... this had prevented all occasion of just dislike." And subsequently, concerning "the main and principal parts" of Calvin's discipline, established when the bishop of Geneva had fled and another could not be chosen in his room, he says: "This device I see not how the wisest at that time living could have bettered, if we duly consider

[1] Hooker, Pref. § 2.

what the present state of Geneva did then require." Must not this to certain modern writers, who can find nothing but "the uncovenanted mercies of God" for those Christians who are not placed under episcopal government, sound like an absolute betraying of the cause which, to their apprehension, Hooker had taken upon him to defend? And is it not the case, that such advocates of the church have precisely exchanged grounds with its assailants of former times, by contending for that "peremptory establishment under the high commanding form of the law of the Lord of lords," which Hooker distinctly opposes? A.D. 1541.

3. Hooker seems to make the establishment of Calvin's discipline at Geneva, and the "stiff refusal," on the part of its author and his two associates, "to administer the holy communion to such as would not quietly, without contradiction and murmur, submit themselves unto the order which their solemn oath had bound them to obey," to be the sole grounds of their expulsion. But this does not appear to be a correct representation of the case. No very precise form of discipline seems to have been established till after Calvin's return. I am not aware that any thing further had been *published* upon the subject than two or three articles "on the church, on excommunication, and on the ministers of the word,"[1] at the close of what we have styled Farel's Confession, and which are so very general as not at all to have fixed my attention, till it was thus subsequently awakened to them. And, with respect to the refusal to administer the sacrament, the fierce animosities and contentions of the citizens among themselves, seem

[1] Ruchat, v. 598–600.

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to have given occasion to it, at least as much as their not "submitting themselves quietly, without contradiction and murmur, to the order" established among them.[1]—Here, as will also subsequently be the case, we have occasion to remark, that the general character and conduct of the persons who drove Calvin and his associates from Geneva, are not duly adverted to.

Calvin's addresses on his return.

The following is given by Alexander Morus, rector of the academy of Geneva, and one of the most celebrated preachers of the seventeenth century,[2] as an address of Calvin's to the council of Geneva after his restoration. I have not ascertained that it is, in so many words, derived from any original record; but it may be taken, with some modification, as a well conceived specimen of the tone and tenor of his appeals. "If you desire," said he, "to have me for your pastor, correct the disorders of your lives. If you have with sincerity recalled me from my exile, banish the crimes and debauchery which prevail amongst you. I certainly cannot behold, without the most painful displeasure, within your walls discipline trodden under foot, and crimes committed with impunity. I cannot possibly live in a place so grossly immoral. Vicious souls are too filthy to receive the purity of the gospel, and the spiritual worship which I preach to you. A life stained with sin is too contrary to Jesus Christ to be tolerated. I consider the principal enemies of the gospel to

[1] Above, p. 350. Beza states the two causes conjointly: and he has previously mentioned the "flagitia," the profligacy which prevailed: fully making out the statement I have given in the passage referred to.

[2] Bayle.—I presume the passage is taken from the "Oratio historica et apologetica pro Johanne Calvino contrà Grotium," of Morus, 1648. See Senebier, ii. 201.

A. D. 1541.

be not the pontiff of Rome, nor heretics, nor seducers, nor tyrants, but such bad Christians: because the former exert their rage *out* of church, while drunkenness, luxury, perjury, blasphemy, impurity, adultery, and other abominable vices overthrow my doctrine, and expose it defenceless to the rage of our enemies. Rome does not constitute the principal object of my fears. Still less am I apprehensive from the almost infinite multitude of monks. The gates of hell, the principalities and powers of evil spirits disturb me not at all. I tremble on account of other enemies more dangerous: and I dread abundantly more those carnal covetousnesses, those debaucheries of the tavern, of the brothel, and of gaming; those infamous remains of ancient superstition, those mortal pests, the disgrace of your town, and the shame of the reformed name. Of what importance is it to have driven away the wolves from the fold, if the pest ravage the flock? Of what use is a dead faith without good works? Of what value even truth itself, where a wicked life belies it, and actions make words blush. Either command me to abandon a second time your town, and let me go and soften the bitterness of my afflictions in a new exile; or let the severity of the laws reign in the church. Re-establish there the pure discipline. Remove from within your walls, and from the frontiers of your state, the pest of your vices, and condemn them to a perpetual banishment."[1]

[1] Mackenzie, p. 163—165. Middelton. The state of morals at Geneva up to the period of the reformation may be judged of by the facts, that great numbers of houses of ill fame were recognised and licenced by the magistrates, and a regular female superior of them appointed, who bore the name of *Reine du Bordel*. The annotators on Spon give from the registers of the city the minutes of the due appointment,

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His labours.

An extraordinary account is given of Calvin's labours from the time of his return to Geneva. "In every fortnight he preached one entire week"—whether daily or not does not appear.[1] Thrice in every week he delivered divinity lectures: on the Thursdays he presided in the consistory, and on the Fridays in what was called the *congregation*, a meeting for the collation and exposition of scripture. Frequently he was called to assist the council with his advice, which his skill in the science of law, combined with his general wisdom and talent, made him very competent to do. His correspondence also was very extensive, the fame of his learning and piety causing him to be consulted from all quarters: and he himself complains of the continual interruptions which, as might naturally have been expected, he encountered from the visits of strangers, and from other avocations. Yet his copious commentaries on the scriptures, and other writings, chiefly in a polished Latin style, are known to be very elaborate and accurate.—Such were the performances of a man, whose constitution was delicate, and his health bad, and who never completed his fifty-fifth year.

Presbyterian Discipline established.

One of Calvin's first cares after his return was, to procure the establishment of a regular ecclesiastical polity and discipline, according to his own views, including the power of censure and excommunication, which he believed to be not only urgently required by

and swearing in from time to time, of this virtuous female sovereign, and the regulations of her government! Spon, i. 287.

[1] "Alternis hebdomadibus totis concionabatur." *Beza.* "Il prêchoit d' ordinaire, tous les quinze jours, une semaine toute entiere." *Spon.* "Il prêchoit tous les jours pendant deux semaines de chaque mois." *Senebier.*

the state of things at Geneva, but to be necessary for the well-being of all churches; and without which indeed he declared himself incapable of duly discharging his ministry. The latter part of his plan met with considerable resistance; the exclusion even of notorious offenders from the sacrament exciting great animosity. The arguments urged against it, and those by which on the other hand Calvin supported it, were such as we have already witnessed in that discussion in which Œcolampadius and Zwingle took different sides.[1] Calvin however carried his point, and the presbyterian discipline was established according to the formulary which he, with the aid of six other commissioners, members of the council, appointed for the purpose, had drawn up.[2] All this was effected, and

A. D. 1541.

[1] Above, p. 90—94.

[2] Beza observes (anno 1544,) that Calvin's letters to the church of Montbelliard furnish an answer to those who charged him with excessive rigour in his ideas of discipline. See Epist. p. 25-6, 265-6. A long letter to the church of Neuchâtel also, in November, 1544, gives very temperate and prudent advice on the cases, the spirit, and the extent in which discipline should be administered, p. 28-9. And to Lizer of Nurlingen he writes, in 1554, that he never could advise a single pastor to attempt to exercise strict discipline in the church: and that he would by no means have the power of exclusion entrusted to the hands of any one individual. It would be at once invidious and dangerous. Epist. p. 82.—It may be observed that in the epistles here referred to, and in others, p. 206, 207, he approves the administration of the sacrament to sick persons, who were proper subjects for it, being unwilling that those who are long confined, or who draw near to death should be "deprived of so great a benefit and assistance," or treated "as if they were cut off from the communion of the church." p. 207, anno 1563. He would even administer it to condemned criminals who shewed a right state of mind. p. 25. He also recommends monthly sacraments. But hasty baptism by midwives and others he reprobates, as a superstitious profanation founded on the gross error of supposing that there was no salvation without it, p. 25, 265. So also in his Institutes.

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received the sanction of the people; and, in addition to it, a new and enlarged catechism, and a species of liturgy, were prepared by Calvin; in little more than two months after his return to Geneva. His catechism met with extraordinary acceptance; so that Beza enumerates seven languages into which it had been translated before he wrote his account of the author's life—including a Hebrew version by Tremellius, and a Greek one by Henry Stephen.[1]

Nov. 20.

New code of Laws for Geneva. 1543.

Another labour of a more secular kind soon after devolved upon him. After the great revolution which had taken place in the state of Geneva, the magistrates felt it necessary that a complete revision and a new digest of the laws should be made; that such as were obsolete might be repealed, such as were wanting supplied, and others altered as circumstances required. Calvin was one of the commissioners appointed for this purpose also: and so great and so valuable were his services in constructing that code under which the republic long flourished, that the celebrated author of the "Spirit of Laws"[2] has said of him, "The Genevese ought to bless the moment of the birth of Calvin, and that of his arrival within their walls." This work received the sanction of the state in the beginning of the year 1543.[3]

Calvin, Farel, and Viret.

Involved at once in so many labours Calvin earnestly desired, but in vain, to obtain the assistance of Farel, and zealously exerted him-

[1] Beza. Calv. Epist. p. 26-7, 262-3. The 'Assembly's Catechism' was formed on the model of it. *Waterman.*

[2] Montesquieu, in Senebier, i. 244.

[3] Spon, i. 284. The three commissioners appointed to make this revision of the laws, were Claude Roset, Calvin, and Dr. Fabri.—Register of Geneva, 15 May, 1542. Also 4 Oct. 1541. The council presented him with "a cask of old wine," for his services to the town. Id. Nov. 17, 1542.

self to have that of Viret rendered permanent. A. D. 1542. "If Viret is taken from me," he says, "I am ruined, and cannot provide for the well being of the church in this place."[1] He could retain him however only six months: at the end of which term Viret returned to his charge at Lausanne. Calvin continued in the closest intercourse of friendship with these two excellent persons, while each laboured in the sphere that providence had assigned him: so that Beza remarks, "It was beautiful to observe the union and yet diversity of these three great men in the service of their common Master. Farel excelled in boldness and grandeur of mind. The thunders of his preaching could hardly be heard without trembling, or his ardent prayers without the soul being lifted to heaven. Viret, on the other hand, was distinguished by a sweet persuasive eloquence, which made his hearers hang upon his lips, almost whether they would or not. While Calvin filled the mind with as many weighty sentiments as he uttered words. Hence it often appeared to me that the union of the three would have formed a perfect preacher."[2]

In the year 1542, as in some following years, Geneva was visited with scarcity and pestilence. The persons afflicted with the plague (as it

The Plague at Geneva.

[1] Epist. p. 19 (a).

[2] Beza has expressed the same characters of the three ministers in the well known epigram, inserted in his Icones:

Gallica mirata est Calvinum Ecclesia nuper,
Quo nemo docuit doctiùs.
Est quoque te nuper mirata, Farelle, tonantem,
Quo nemo tonuit fortiùs:
Et miratur adhuc fundentem mella Viretum,
Quo nemo fatur dulciùs.
Scilicet aut tribus his servabere testibus olim,
Aut interibis, Gallia.

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appears to be distinctly called, and described to be,) were collected in a hospital without the city; and Calvin, when others declined to do it, offered to visit them as their spiritual adviser and comforter: but the magistrates would not permit *his* life to be risked in a service which actually proved fatal to the person on whom it devolved.[1] The same year the persecutions both in France and Italy drove numerous refugees to Geneva; in providing for whose wants, both temporal and spiritual, Calvin spared no pains. The natives of France would of course join in the ordinary services of the Genevese church: but, for the benefit of those who spoke other languages, we find both an Italian, a Spanish, and an English church, opened in the city in Calvin's time.[2] Calvin also extended his anxious cares to those who had been unable to make their escape from persecution —addressing many letters to them to confirm and comfort them. He this year also published an "Antidote" to the articles which the doctors of the Sorbonne had taken upon them to

Refugees from persecution.

[1] Beza. Register of Geneva. A horrible conspiracy, the design of which seems to have been to some extent carried into execution, was discovered at Geneva in 1545, to propagate the infection of the plague! Of course it proceeded from those who found their interest in the prevalence of the malady: and almost all the persons connected with the hospital, including some medical men, are said to have been implicated in it. Another horrid trait of barbarism was displayed in the punishment of the crime—no less than seven men and twenty-four women being burned alive for it!—Two thousand persons had died of the plague. Beza. Spon, i. 285-6. If such a transaction in all its parts be thought a reproach to a reformed city, the enormity of the very next event which Beza relates ought surely to stop the mouths of at least their papal adversaries.—I mean the massacre of Cabrieres and Merindol. See Vol. i. 443—449.

[2] The Italian congregation was first formed in 1543, and restored again in 1557. The English one was formed in 1555.

publish as a standard of faith, and which numbers were induced to subscribe.[1] A. D. 1543.

The following year produced his "Defence of the sound and orthodox Doctrine concerning the bondage and the liberation of the Will," in answer to Pighius, a Dutch divine of some eminence, who, according to Beza, hoped to gain a cardinal's hat by writing against the reformers: but who has had the ill fortune on the one hand to have his own treatises put into the list of prohibited books by the Spanish Inquisition, for their disagreement with S. Augustine; and on the other to be held forth as a man whose principles had been corrupted by venturing on the forbidden ground of the reformers' writings.[2] Calvin dedicates this work to Melancthon, whom he extols as "a distinguished and valiant defender of sound doctrine;"[3] and admires for the exquisite union of "clearness and simplicity" which his writings exhibited; and whose judgment, he says, "should suffice him for that of all beside."[4] So very courteous a public address could scarcely fail to conciliate Melancthon's

Controversy with Pighius, on the will. 1543.

[1] Opera, viii. 190—202.

[2] Bayle, *Pighius*. See above, vol. ii. 272.

[3] "Piæ sanæque doctrinæ non modo studiosissimus cultor, sed eximius fortissimusque vindex."

[4] Tuum unius (judicium) mihi instar omnium futurum semper est."—Opera, viii. 116—177. In this work Calvin charges Pighius with extensive plagiarism from his Christian Institutes; and accounts for his venturing on such a course in a sentence which well describes the apparent conduct of many writers of our own times: "He was satisfied if he could please those, who as conscientiously forbear to read our writings, as they readily commend and admire every thing that is written against us." Op. viii. 121-2. Again: "They do not inquire whether any thing is true or false, but extol every thing that proceeds from Pighius or Eckius, merely because it is written *against us*." Ib. 126 (b).

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favourable regard to the work thus inscribed to him. Accordingly he wrote to Calvin from Bonn (where he was assisting the archbishop of Cologne in his reformation,) [1] a very cordial letter of acknowledgment, in which he commends the eloquence as well as piety of Calvin's work; speaks humbly of himself; avows the course he had pursued, and the subjects on which he loved mainly to dwell, and to which he could like to see Calvin "transfer" his eloquent pen—rejoicing "that he had been raised up of God to assert the truth of the gospel." "Too harsh and too intricate discussions," he says, "had in the early days of the reformation prevailed," on such subjects as Calvin had now written upon; on which he, for his part, had made it his business to draw forth what was practical and useful, and to place it, as far as he possibly could, in a clear light." He tells the story of his friend Stadianus of Tubingen, who used to say, "that he approved both the positions, that all things happen as God has decreed them, and yet that they are contingent:" though he could not shew the consistency of the two. He speaks in the same style as in the later editions of his Common Places: (of which indeed the last great revision appeared this very year:) and concludes with expressing his conviction that his views and those of Calvin agreed, "only that his own statements were more popular (or less refined) and adapted to practice." [2]

[1] Vol. i. 361—373.

[2] "Et quidem, scio hæc cum tuis congruere, sed sunt παχύτερα, et ad usum accommodata."—Inter Epist. Calv. p. 174-5. This sentence has been before referred to: ii. 215. It is not necessary to enter further into the doctrine of the answer to Pighius, as it so perfectly agrees with that of the Institutes, which we propose to review.

In the year 1544 Calvin republished, with a commentary, the paternal admonition which pope Paul III. addressed to the emperor for having (from the necessity of his circumstances,) presumed to promise the two great religious parties in the empire the early convocation of a council, and to place them in the mean time on an equal footing.[1] To the emperor himself, and the diet assembled at Spire, he also addressed a "Suppliant Exhortation" on "the necessity of reforming the church."[2] While he thus pleaded for the reformation against its avowed enemies, he spared no pains to protect it against the corruption of its pretended friends. There existed at this period a wretched sect of persons who scrupled not to assume the name of *Libertines*, meaning, it may be presumed, to have it interpreted—*assertors of Liberty*, whether spiritual or civil. But they seem to have been entitled to the appellation in the worst sense of the word. They were in principle, and in many instances in practice also, antinomians of the grossest description. Indeed they ran into the errors of the strictest pantheism: asserting that there existed but one immortal spirit in the universe, which was God: that the human soul is an emanation from him, a part of himself, which at death will be reabsorbed into him: that God, consequently, is in every sense the doer of all things —man having no more will of his own than a stone: that the devil is a mere phantasm; sin an imagination, and indeed "nothing in the world;" and remorse for it an absurdity: that to believers all things are pure: and that "to restrain our desires is to obstruct God." Such

A. D. 1544.

The Libertines.

[1] Opera, viii. 178—189. [2] Ib. 37—64.

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at least is the representation given of their avowed tenets by Calvin, who quotes copiously from their writings, and whose statements have never, that I am aware, been called in question. Yet all these atrocious principles they contrived to veil with such high-flown pretences to "spirituality,"[1] and so supported "by good words and fair speeches," calculated "to deceive the hearts of the simple"—leading such persons to imagine that they were guiding them into "the deep things of God," while they were really plunging them into "the depths of Satan"[2]—that by these means on the one hand, and by the impunity which they held out to the licentiousness of the wicked, on the other, they made many converts and spread widely. They arose in Hainault and at Lisle under leaders of the name of Quintin and Copin, to whom Bertrand, Perceval, and Pocquet were added: but they had now spread into France: and the same name, at least, was given to a strong party at Geneva, who, as we shall see, occasioned Calvin no small trouble for some years to come.[3] He

[1] "The spirit," as opposed to the letter: "spirit and life:" these were among the terms ever in their mouths. Calv. Op. viii. 381.

[2] Rom. xvi. 18. 1 Cor. ii. 10. Rev. ii. 24. Calvin assures us that it was one doctrine of this sect, that regeneration restores us to the original state in which Adam was created, which was a state of *complete non-discrimination of good and evil.* It was his sin to seek, and his punishment to find this discrimination, by eating the forbidden fruit! c. xviii.—This sect appears to have in many points resembled the "Brethren of the Free Spirit," in the thirteenth century. See Mosheim, Index, *Brethren.*

[3] Spon, i. 286—289. Calv. Epist. p. 38, 39, 44, 53. How far "the Libertine party" at Geneva had adopted the speculative principles of the Libertines of the Low Countries and of France, I have not been able to ascertain. That the conduct of many of them was worthy of such principles seems not to admit of a doubt.

this year wrote against them an elaborate work,[1] in which he professes himself thus early, as he had indeed done from the first, the strenuous opposer of all such representations of the divine agency as would impair the responsibility of man, and of every even the remotest approach to "turning the grace of God into lasciviousness."[2]

A. D. 1544.

Calvin's work against them.

Of the arts of insinuation which the leaders of this sect possessed and exercised we have a proof in the fact, that the queen of Navarre took much umbrage at Calvin's having written against such pious and heavenly-minded men in the manner he had done. A recent biographer of the reformer represents the queen as influenced in this by "the principle of toleration:" but she would rather seem to have been imposed upon by the specious language of these fanatics, and by their pretences to assert the liberty of the gospel, and to exhibit in a more perfect manner than others the riches and freeness of the divine grace. The experience of our own times seems to conspire with that of preceding ages to shew, that persons of her sex, having perhaps, like her, claims to take some lead in the church, are peculiarly liable to be wrought upon by such pretences; by the pleasing idea of attaining more insight than common into the mysteries of redemption, and of the divine government and grace; and by the flattery which corrupt teachers ever know how to insinuate in connexion with their

Their influence with the queen of Navarre.

[1] "Instructio adversus Libertinos." Op. viii. 374—403. He had just before published his "Instructio adversus Anabaptistas," addressed to the church of Neuchâtel. Ib. 355—374.

[2] Many persons may perhaps be surprised to hear Calvin express himself thus: "Every soul departs (at death) to that place which it has *prepared for itself* while in this world." (p. 383.) Yet how does this differ from Gal. vi. 7, 8?

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doctrine, to facilitate its reception, and to advance their own interests.—Calvin, on learning the offence taken by his former royal patroness, addressed to her a letter, in which, while he treated her with all the respect due to her rank, her character, and her kindness to himself, he yet asserted his own greater competence to judge in such a cause, and expostulated with her for suffering herself to be so far led astray.[1]—The effect of Calvin's exertions appears to have been that this atrocious sect was checked in its career, and in a great degree confined to Holland and the neighbourhood in which it had originated.[2]

1545. April 20.

The "Nicodemites."

Another evil against which Calvin had at this period to contend, not so much in his own city as among his correspondents in France and elsewhere, was one which must ever be likely to arise in times of persecution. I refer to the error of those who were convinced of the truth, but satisfied themselves with holding it secretly, while they outwardly conformed to the prevailing superstitions. Many now pretended to justify their being thus afraid or "ashamed to confess Christ before men:" and hence (in allusion to the supposed cowardice of Nicodemus in visiting our Lord by night,) obtained the name of *Nicodemites*. Their error, for which flesh and blood will always plead, was one which had been examined and condemned by the ancient fathers: but Calvin found himself called upon repeatedly to write against it. In the year 1537 he had addressed two epistles on the subject,[3] one to his old friend and host at Orleans, Nicholas Chemin, and the other to Gerard Ruff, a man who had shewn himself

[1] Epist. p, 32. [2] Beza.
[3] Op. viii. 409—422, 423—434.

favourable to the reformers, but who seems to have been corrupted by advancement, first to an abbacy and then to a bishopric, and also to have exerted an injurious influence on the mind of the queen of Navarre.[1] But our reformer now wrote more fully on the necessity of standing aloof from superstitions; and, as some of the persons concerned, and whom he esteemed, thought him too severe, he at their request solicited the judgment of Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, and Peter Martyr in addition to his own. In his letter to Melancthon on this occasion, he writes as if he feared that he might not have the full concurrence of that reformer in his decisions. "I so esteem your judgment (as it is fit I should,) that it would be very painful to me to find myself differing from you. I know that the tenderness of your nature leads you to concede many things to others which you would not allow to yourself: but we must take care not to loose where God binds." He submits to Melancthon the letter in which he applied for Luther's advice, feeling some difficulty in approaching the sturdy Saxon, and desiring that the subject should be introduced to him under favourable circumstances.[2] It does not appear that Luther returned any answer. Of his sentiments however no doubt can be entertained: and, for the other eminent persons consulted, they all with one voice condemned the practice in question, as "fearing and obeying man rather than God."[3] Beza tells us that the con-

A. D. 1545.

Jan.

[1] Beza. Bayle, art. *Navarre.*

[2] Epist. p. 31. Mackenzie, p. 60, gives us the letter to Luther, apparently from a French edition of the Institutes.

[3] Their answers, with one from the Pastors of Zuric in 1549, are appended to Calvin's treatise: Op. viii. 434—457. They are also found in the "Consilia" of Melancthon i.

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sequence was, that henceforward the name and practice of the "Nicodemites" fell into ill odour in the church.[1]

Calvin on Luther,

Calvin's approaching Luther so cautiously on the occasion just related, as if he feared that any thing from Switzerland might inflame him, was occasioned by the rumours he had heard of his recent and violent publication, which proved also his last on the subject of the sacra-

Nov. 1544.

ment. A previous letter had spoken more distinctly upon this subject, and shewn at the same time the good spirit which the writer cherished in himself and others towards the veteran hero of the reformation. It is addressed to Bullinger, who with the other divines of Zuric was to be considered as more particularly attacked. "I can now hardly ask you," says Calvin, "to hold your peace: ... but I wish you all to remember, first, how great a man Luther is; what endowments he possesses; and what fortitude and firmness, what skill and what learning he has employed in routing the powers of antichrist, and in propagating the

627—638. Four Homilies, of the date of 1552, on kindred subjects, follow in Calvin's works, and a refutation of a Dutchman, apparently of the Libertine School, who, on the ground of the entire *spirituality* of Christians, made no account of their joining in external idolatrous rites. P. 457—499.

[1] Beza, ann. 1537 and 1545.—On communicating however with a church in which much imperfection and even corruption was found, Calvin says: "Christians should have such a horror of schism as always to avoid it when they lawfully can.... It is sufficient for us if the fundamentals of Christian doctrine are retained.... Private individuals are not to entangle themselves in scruples" arising from the character or appointment of the officiating minister. "By sacraments we have communion *with the church:*" and they are not frustrated by the hands of an unworthy minister. Epist. p. 5. (1538.) In the next page he speaks perhaps still more strongly: and considers Judas as having unquestionably received the sacrament from the hands of Christ. (1539.)

true doctrine of salvation. I have often said, that though he should call me a devil I would yet honour him as an illustrious servant of God. It is true however that, as he is distinguished by eminent virtues, so he labours under great faults. Oh that he had studied to restrain that intemperateness which is ever ready to boil over in him! That he had always directed that vehemence, which is inseparable from his nature, against the enemies of the truth, and not sometimes turned it upon the servants of God! That he had bestowed more pains in discovering his own faults! He was naturally too prone to indulge the impulses of his own mind: and flatterers have much injured him by cherishing that propensity. It is our duty however, even in reprehending his faults, to acknowledge his great excellences. I beg therefore of you and your colleagues, in the first place, to remember that he whom you have to encounter is a great and leading servant of Christ, to whom we are all deeply indebted. In the next place consider, that all you will gain by involving yourselves in the controversy will be—to afford matter of triumph to the ungodly, who will make it an occasion of insulting over the gospel still more than over us. When we become mutual accusers of each other, they will be only too ready to believe us *both*... Dwell upon these considerations, rather than on what the intemperance of Luther may have deserved at your hands. Let us not *bite and devour one another, lest we be consumed.*"[1]—Nothing assuredly can be more wise or more Christian than every part of this passage.—In a subsequent letter to Melancthon, after having seen Luther's book, our author writes to this effect:

A. D. 1545.

June 28, 1545.

[1] Epist. p. 239.

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and on his last publication on the sacrament.

"I acknowledge that we owe much to him; nor would I refuse him a high degree of authority, if he would only govern himself: though in the church we must always take care not to defer too much to men, be they who they may." For the liberty of the church it was necessary that he should be resisted. His violence was increased by every one's giving way to him.—Calvin would have Melancthon therefore regard this publication as making a call upon *him* to speak out more than he had done; for he had long considered him as held in bondage upon the subject of the corporal presence:[1] and many now anxiously looked up to him for the relief of their doubts respecting it.[2]

Attempts of the Libertine faction.

The years 1546 and 1547 (those of the death of Luther, the first sitting of the council of Trent, and the Smalcaldic war,) were years of alarm: and even at Geneva they afforded much work to Calvin in fortifying the minds of the people against the apprehensions excited by the general council, the pope, and the emperor. They were also years of disturbance from the Libertine faction. Ami Perrin, an early stickler for reformation, but a vain, ambitious, and licentious man,[3] having obtained the office of captain general, thought the opportunity advantageous for breaking through the restraints which Calvin and his coadjutors had imposed. He openly contended for the abrogation of the consistory and ecclesiastical dis-

(Perrin.)

[1] Epist. p. 6. [2] Ib. 33.

[3] Calvin's name for him in his epistles is "Comicus Cæsar:" which I find translated "Cesar, a comical man!" but which I understand to mean a sort of "mock Cesar"—a vain aspirant to tread in Cesar's steps. P. 101, he calls him "pauper et famelicus."

cipline, and for referring all cases exclusively to the senate and the civil courts, where he and his party hoped to find connivance at their excesses. The opposition which Calvin encountered from these persons was, according to Beza, to be traced directly to his maintaining "that the gospel is not a speculative doctrine, but must produce a holy life." And it was so violent that, in obeying the summons he received at different times to attend the council, his life was exposed to some danger, at one time from the swords of the contending parties, at another from persons who would have excited the people to throw him into the Rhone. The council however supported the ecclesiastical constitution which had been adopted, deprived Perrin of his office, and expelled him from the senate; and branded with infamy one of their own body who had accused Calvin as a false teacher—at the same time depriving two members of the college of pastors who had prompted the accusation. One principal leader of the cabal, James Gruet, even suffered capitally for his infidelity, profligate principles, and turbulent conduct.[1] Though his crimes were not such as would be visited with capital punishment in modern times, as least in a free country, yet all these facts conspire to shew the character of the party with which Calvin had to contend.

A. D. 1547.

Gruet. 1547.

The following year in some degree revived the spirits of the lawless citizens, and that, as Beza observes, by Satan's device in making men instrumental to this result who were at heart most opposed to it. Farel and Viret visited Geneva, and, in their zeal to heal the divisions and disorders which they found there,

1548.

[1] Beza. Spon, i. 288-9. Calv. Epist. p. 236, 237.

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they proposed accommodation between the parties.[1] Calvin having, according to the representation of the same writer, nothing in view but to be "first pure then peaceable," the restoration of Perrin was agreed to. This artful demagogue scrupled not to assent to any thing to obtain his ends, but immediately went contrary to all his engagements. His ambition was to rise to the syndicate; hoping, when clothed with the powers which that office would give him, to be able to effect his ulterior purposes. In the nearer object he succeeded: but in the more remote one, as we shall hereafter see, he entirely failed.

Calvin's Works.

In the midst of these conflicts Calvin was unwearied in his endeavours to counteract error, and to diffuse light and truth in the world. At the close of the year 1547 he published the Acts of the seven sessions of the council of Trent, which had already been held, with an "Antidote."[2] The next year he published commentaries on six of S. Paul's Epistles; an exposure of the German Interim, with his judgment of the true method of giving peace and reformation to the church:[3] a letter against a Libertine Franciscan at Rohan,[4] and a piece on the vanity and folly of judicial astrology, to which many enlightened men in that age were addicted.[5]

His Correspondence.

His correspondence also at this period was interesting and important. He wrote to Brentius who had been driven from Halle in Suabia by the influence of the emperor and the Interim,[6] and was now living at Basle, and to Bucer who had retreated before the storm into England.[7] Calvin addresses the former, though

[1] Beza. [2] Op. viii. 216—260. [3] Ib. 260—304
[4] Ib. 403—408. [5] Ib. 500—509. [6] Vol. ii. 32. [7] Ib. 35.

he was rather a violent partizan on Luther's side in the sacramental controversy, in the kindest manner. He says: "Amidst all these calamities one consideration supports and refreshes my mind: I assure myself that God, in commencing the wonderful restoration of his church which we have witnessed, has not held out a vain and transient hope to us, but has begun a work which he will not fail to accomplish, in spite of the malice of men and the opposition of Satan. In the mean time let us patiently undergo the purification which is necessary for us.[1]"—The hope which he thus cherished has not been disappointed, notwithstanding all discouraging circumstances from without and from within the church at that time. May *we* not even more confidently still hold fast the like hope respecting the revival of religion in our own age, whatever appearances may for a time become?—Bucer he exhorted to speak more clearly and decidedly on the eucharist, respecting which he had vainly endeavoured to effect a compromise between the parties; reminding him of the violence of Amsdorf and others, who even exceeded the papists in extravagance; and of what Melancthon had suffered from them for not going all their lengths.[2] A.D. 1548.

His letter to Protector Somerset. 1548.

But his correspondence with England will most directly interest us. In a long letter to the protector Somerset, 22 October, 1548,[3] he discusses three important topics: 1. The due instruction of the people: 2. The eradication of abuses hitherto subsisting: 3. The restraint of open immorality and irreligion. Under the first, he insists strongly and repeatedly on the importance of faithful, spirited, pungent preach-

[1] Epist. p. 46, 47. [2] Ib. 49, 50. [3] Ib. 49—53.

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ing—such as should make men feel the truth of the apostle's assertion, that "the word of God is quick and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword:" laments that persons capable of such preaching were rare in England:[1] and would have full liberty of speech allowed to them wherever they were found. Probably he in this refers to the animadversions which they might feel themselves called upon to make on the conduct of the rulers as well as of the people: and we might suppose him to have such preachers as Latimer and Bernard Gilpin in his eye.—On the other hand, in order to exclude curious and vain discussions, and to restrain wild and erratic spirits—such as would "utter their own dreams as the oracles of God"—he recommends that an approved summary or confession of faith should be adopted, from which all ministers should be sworn not to deviate. He would further have a catechism drawn up, and all young or ignorant persons instructed in it: which would be a safeguard and a source of blessing to them. "The church of God," he says "cannot subsist, or your work endure, without catechetical instruction, by which the seed of the future harvest is sown, the people prepared to understand the word preached, and their minds fortified against those who broach novel and strange doctrines." In the last place, under this head, he would have a formulary of public prayers and rites of divine worship introduced, from which no deviation should be allowed. This would conduce

[1] Of their rarity a correspondent of Calvin's at Cambridge, no doubt Paul Fagius, who had accompanied Bucer to England the year before, gives, in 1550, a lamentable account. Ib. 58. 59. The contents of the letter are interesting and affecting.

to the ends proposed in the former recommendations, and promote the edification of the people.—With respect to the removal of *abuses* affecting religion, he wishes the protector to proceed boldly in abolishing all corrupt popish ceremonies; any of which being retained would bring back additional evils: but he expressly allows a moderation and prudence to be used "in adapting ceremonies [indifferent in themselves] to the habits and capacities of the people"—*ad usum et captum populi*—what they were capable of admitting or dispensing with. He specifies extreme unction, the use of chrism in baptism, and the prayers for the dead, then retained in the communion service, but since changed into a thanksgiving for the departed righteous, as things which required to be removed, though he knew (he says,) that the last was not meant to countenance the notion of purgatory.—Under the head of *public morals*, he complains, as we may always do concerning the sentiments as well as the laws of mankind, that offences against property were so much more anxiously restrained than others equally offensive to God and injurious to society. A. D. 1548.

In a letter to Bullinger in March, 1551, after mentioning that his commentaries on Isaiah and on the canonical (or general) Epistles were printed, and that he meant to dedicate them both to the king of England, he alludes again to English affairs. He laments the imprisonment of Hooper for refusing the usual accompaniments of consecration to a bishopric: approves his rejection of unction: but wishes he had been less tenacious respecting the cap and rochet, intimating that he had written to him, dissuading him from his resistance to Bishop Hooper.

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them, though he had himself no liking for such distinctions. There surely was nothing in this "interference," as it has been called, but what was wise and moderate, and friendly to the church of England, as well as to her pious and holy though too scrupulous son?[1]

Letters to Cranmer.

In two letters to archbishop Cranmer, the first of them dated 20 March, 1552, and written, we may conclude, in reply to one which the archbishop had addressed to him, he highly approves the plan of the primate ("ornatissimus præsul," he styles him,) to procure, if possible, a synod of learned and pious men from all parts, who might form a sort of counterpoise to the assembly now again collected at Trent, and might prepare and agree upon a common statement, or confession, of all the heads of Christian doctrine, "with the best and most unexceptionable modes of expressing them:" and, till such a measure could be carried into effect, that of framing articles for England alone. He earnestly presses his dignified correspondent to lose no time in executing so good a work, and in perfecting the reformation of his country; lamenting that, owing to various hinderances, raised up by Satan himself, faithful preaching, "the very life's breath, and soul itself, of the Christian ministry," did not proceed here more successfully. He regrets also that many "shoots" of popery still survived, which would be likely to grow and spread again if they were not extirpated. He specifies

[1] Epist. p. 59, 60. "Calvin, being apprised of this contention, could not resist a disposition to interfere in it." &c. Soames's Engl. Ref. iii. 566.—Archbishop Cranmer expressly writes to Calvin, "admonishing him that he could not do any thing more profitable than to write often to the king." Epist. p. 240 (b).

hiring persons to chant vespers in an unknown tongue, an absurdity which he is sure the primate rather connived at than approved. [1] A. D. 1548.

On the festivals of the church.

A few other sentences may be here collected relating to subjects allied to some which have been noticed. We have two letters of Calvin's, and another addressed to him by Bullinger, on the abolition at Geneva, in 1550 or 1551, of the four festivals of Christmas, New Year, (or Circumcision,) the Annunciation, and the Ascension, which had been observed since the period of Calvin's expulsion in 1538—the first of them being now transferred to the nearest Sunday. For this change he was censured: but he declares that he should not have ventured to advise it; that he had been surprised at its adoption; and had done nothing whatever to promote it. On his recall to Geneva, he affirms, he could "with much applause" have procured the rescinding of all which had been done in his absence: but he had attempted nothing of the kind. He had indeed thought it absurd to observe the day of Christ's circumcision, and to pass over that of his death: and he did condemn the celebration of Lady-day, because it was perverted to encourage a superstitious regard for the Virgin. "I rather sought," he says, "this *temperament*, that the day of the

[1] Epist. p. 268, 61, 62: where it appears that Cranmer had at the same time written on the subject to Melancthon and to Bullinger.—Compare above, vol. ii. 155-6, 213.—Strype (Life of Cranmer, p. 418, quoted by Middelton,) tells us that "Calvin, Bullinger, and others, in a letter to Edward VI, offered to make him their defender, and to have bishops in their churches, as there were in England;" and that he afterwards in writing to archbishop Parker, after describing bishops such as they ought to be, says, "If there be any who do not behave themselves with all reverence and obedience towards them, there is no anathema but I confess them worthy of it."

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nativity should be observed, as at Berne; and that on the other days the shops should be shut and public service performed in the forenoon, and the people then return to their ordinary employments."—Does all this, it may again be asked, savour of that intemperate innovation upon ancient usages and decent observances, which many would impute to Calvin? Bullinger says to him on the occasion: "I know that you never shewed yourself rigid (morosum) in things of this nature, which easily excite ill-will, but do little to promote piety. For my part I wish that liberty to be given in such things, which I see prevailed in the churches from the times of the apostles."[1]

Adiaphoristic controversy.

The adiaphoristic controversy, arising out of the promulgation of the Interim, now engrossed the public attention, and Calvin wrote that

Letter to Melancthon.

letter to Melancthon, on his conduct and doctrine respecting "things indifferent," which we have noticed in the preceding volume.[2] It is the letter of a true and faithful friend, but written under misinformation. This I had inferred, when I reported it, from comparing its contents with the writings of Melancthon on the subject, which we were then reviewing: and I am happy now to find my inference confirmed by the express testimony of Beza, Calvin's coadjutor and intimate friend, and afterwards his successor and biographer. He thus relates the occurrence: "Calvin explained his sentiments, and admonished Philip of his duty: for some thought him (Melancthon) too yielding upon the subject, but *unjustly*, *as*

[1] Epist. p. 62, 63.

[2] Vol. ii. 49, 50. Calv. Epist. p. 54-5. This letter, as appears from the close of the preceding one, to Val. Pace, must have been written in June, 1550.

Calvin, better informed, was afterwards aware ;[1] for it was not then known what spirit actuated that evil genius[2] and the whole tribe of the followers of Flacius, by which they afterwards excited such disturbances, and to this day so obstruct the work of the Lord, that they could not have done it more audaciously and furiously had they been hired to it by the gold of the Roman pontiff!"[3]—Wherein indeed, it may be asked, did Melancthon's principles on these subjects differ from those which we have seen Calvin avowing and acting upon? The one of these great men appears no less anxious than the other duly to limit the application of the term *indifferent*, and not to suffer it to be extended to "any new species of worship," any "corrupt addition to divine ordinances."[4]

A. D. 1549.

Setting aside his misapprehension of his friend upon this subject, Calvin's address is admirable: "Though I am confidently persuaded you never will be driven by the fear of death to turn aside even a hair's breadth from the line of duty, yet it is possible your mind may be open to the influence of *fear of a different description.* I know how you shrink from the charge of a repulsive rigidity and stiffness. But remember, the servant of Christ must make light (when duty requires it,) of his reputation as well as of his life...Not that I am so little acquainted with you, or so unjust to you, as to think you, like vain-glorious and ambitious men, dependent on the breath of popular applause. But I doubt not you are

[1] "Philippo etiam officii admonito, quem nonnulli ut in eo molliorem accusabant; immerito id quidem, ut accuratius postea Calvinus cognovit."

[2] Qu. Flacius himself?

[3] Bez. Vit. Calv. anno 1549.

[4] See vol. ii. 60; 65, &c.

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sometimes subject to 'compunctious visitings' (punctiones) of this kind: 'Is it the part of a wise and considerate man to divide the church for trifles? Is not peace so precious that it deserves to be purchased at the price of some inconveniences? What madness is it so tenaciously to hold to every punctilio, as to risk the whole substance of the gospel?' I suspect that you were formerly too much affected by such suggestions, urged upon you by artful persons; and I candidly state my apprehensions, to prevent the divine greatness of soul, which I know belongs to you, being now restrained from freely exerting itself. I would rather suffer with you a thousand deaths than see you survive a surrender of the truth. Perhaps my fears are vain: but you cannot too carefully guard against giving the wicked any occasion of triumph through the facility of your temper. ... May the Lord still direct you by his Spirit—support you by his Spirit—and preserve you by his guardian care. Amen!"—Such faithful yet candid correspondence between men of like holy principle, though differing in temperament and even in some of their views, is delightful. These remarks also of Calvin on the character and dangers of Melancthon are as discerning as they are kind: they confirm the conclusions to which we formerly came, and may serve to reconcile the apparently conflicting representations which have been made of his timidity on the one hand and his courage on the other. Calvin believes him proof against "one species of fear"—that which threatenings could inspire, but in danger from "another"[1]—the apprehension of being indiscreetly tenacious.

[1] See vol. ii. 48, 145. "Sunt enim, qui in rebus contrariis parum sibi constent" &c." Cic. de Off. i. 21.

A. D. 1549.

Before we quit these subjects, and particularly as the adherents of Flacius, who affected the name of *genuine Lutherans*,[1] and Calvin's better acquaintance with their spirit as time advanced, have been alluded to, we may observe, that in a letter of the date of 1560 he is not a little severe upon them. "They ruin the churches," he says, "not merely by vain confidence, but by an absolutely savage (truculento) pride . . . The greater part think they reflect the *genuine* image of Luther if, instead of the greatness of soul which characterized him, they swell with an inflated arrogance . . . They are the *apes* of Luther: for he has left few *imitators*."[2]

The genuine Lutherans.

At the period at which we have regularly arrived, the year 1549, (though, for the sake of bringing similar passages or similar topics together, we have a little anticipated in our review of our reformer's correspondence,) Calvin suffered a severe domestic affliction, in the death of his wife. He himself gives an affecting account, evidently written under strong emotion, of her truly Christian departure, in which the simplicity of her faith, the elevation of her hope, and the superior character of her mind shone forth conspicuously. A few short sentences, impressively uttered by her, shewed, he observes, what sentiments occupied her breast. "O glorious resurrection!" she once exclaimed: "O God of Abraham and of all our fathers, the faithful in all generations have trusted in thee, and none was ever confounded. I too will trust in thee."[3] He calls her "the

Death of Calvin's wife.

April.

[1] Vol. ii. 48, 49, 63, &c. [2] Epist. p. 140 (b).

[3] "No more soothing medicine can be desired," he says to a friend similarly circumstanced, "than such words of (Christian) heroism uttered with the expiring breath." De Scandalis; Op. viii. 65.

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most excellent partner of his life, who stood prepared, if difficulties and dangers arose, to be his voluntary associate not only in exile and want, but in death itself." She had borne him one son, who died before either of his parents.[1] She had however other children surviving by her former husband. Observing that she made no mention of them on her deathbed, Calvin remarked to her, that he should regard them as his own. She replied, "I have committed them to the Lord, and I know that you will not neglect what you are sensible has been commended to him." "The great thing," she said again to a female friend, "is, that they may lead a holy and religious life!"[2]

Success of his labours.

His childless state being afterwards absurdly made a ground of reproach against him, he comforted himself and repelled the reproach by observing, "I have numberless spiritual children throughout the world:" a boast for which he has been again censured from another quarter.[3] There was truth however and great consolation in the reflection; and, notwithstanding all his conflicts and trials, our reformer had much at this period to give him satisfaction and encouragement. The efforts of his enemies at Geneva were for the time repressed; and the increase of the church we are told was wonderful.[4] The influx also of pious and interesting strangers, who fled from persecution, or were attracted by the fame of Calvin's name, was great: and he spared no pains to promote the comfort of such as needed assistance, and to render them all

[1] Calvin notices the event to Viret, 19 August, probably 1545. Epist. p. 234. [2] Epist. p. 50, 51.

[3] Bossuet. The sentence is in the tract "de Scandalis," just referred to, which is dated July, 1550. [4] Beza.

useful. A meeting or synod of his brethren from all quarters, which in company with Farel he attended at Zuric, had also a happy issue. His doctrine of the sacrament had been suspected by some of approximating too much to that of Luther: but this apprehension was now removed, by a "Harmony of the Helvetian and Rhetian (or the Swiss and Grison) Churches," in which all parties concurred; which had the effect of still more closely uniting Bullinger with Calvin, and the church of Zuric with that of Geneva; and to which, says Beza, "we still adhere, and hope by the blessing of God to do so to the end."

A. D. 1549.

Concord of the churches of Zuric and Geneva.

This year likewise introduced into the sacred office, and to the service of Switzerland, another eminent luminary of the church, in the person of THEODORE BEZA. He was born at Vezelay in France, and was now, at Calvin's instigation, called to the station of Greek professor and a preacher at Lausanne.

Beza.

Soon after this it was publicly ordered at Geneva, that the ministers should by no means satisfy themselves with preaching the gospel publicly to the people, but, after the apostle's example, should visit them from house to house. In this service they were to be attended by an officer styled "the decurion" of the district, and to examine the people concerning their faith: and it is added, "It is scarcely credible how much fruit this practice produced."[1]

Pastoral Visits. 1550.

We will close the present chapter with noticing a correspondence which took place between Calvin and Lælius Socinus, from whom and his nephew and heir, Faustus, the Socinian heresy took its name. Lælius was a native of Sienna, in Italy, who from a partiality for

Lælius Socinus.

[1] Beza.

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the reformation left his country in 1548, at the age of twenty-three years. From that period to the end of his life he passed his time chiefly at Zuric, except that from 1549 to 1551 he resided at Wittemberg. He was a member to the end of his days of the Locarnese congregation at Zuric, and kept up an acquaintance with the principal reformers. He never distinctly avowed his sentiments, but only raised questions, in the character of a learner rather than in that of a teacher or a disputant, concerning the sacraments and the resurrection, and afterwards concerning redemption and the Trinity. Yet he secretly exerted himself in making proselytes, and not without success. When Bullinger, having received some intimation from the Grisons of Socinus's unsoundness on the doctrine of the Trinity, laid his information before him, and urged him to remove suspicion by some decisive declaration, he protested that he agreed on all points with the church of Zuric, and subscribed a confession of his faith which was satisfactory to Bullinger. But, after his death, the antitrinitarians, who had enjoyed his confidence, proclaimed the fact that he was of their sentiments, and in proof of it circulated such of his writings as were in their hands; and his nephew Faustus, coming from Lyons to Zuric, took possession of his papers, and afterwards made use of them in composing his own works. Such at least is the representation made of his character and conduct by an eminently calm and competent historian.[1] Such conduct also we know has too frequently been, to a considerable extent, imitated by men of his principles: and we may pronounce it not unworthy of them: for we

[1] M'Crie, Ref. in Italy, p. 385—389.

A.D. 1549.

can consider Socinianism as nothing but a system accommodated to the taste and desires of fallen human nature: an attempt to secure, if possible, the advantages of Christianity, without binding its professors to much more, either in faith or practice, than a deist might be content to admit. It submits not the understanding to the authority of revelation: it bows not the heart to the humbling doctrine of the cross—to either a Redeemer or a Sanctifier: it feels not the supreme importance of divine truth; entertains not any proper sense of the evil of sin; nor separates from a corrupt world. It can leave its followers therefore to accommodate themselves to times and circumstances, and, generally speaking, to avow or conceal their sentiments as convenience may dictate: while every real Christian will remember that he is called to "confess Christ before men," on pain of being "denied by him before his Father."

Calvin's correspondence with him.

The two letters of Calvin to Socinus which have been preserved, and which appear both to belong to the year 1549, turn not at all upon trinitarian or antitrinitarian questions, but upon those of intermarrying with papists, the lawfulness and validity of popish baptism, and the resurrection of the body. They indicate throughout in his correspondent a restless, inquisitive, and not well regulated mind. Intermarriage with papists Calvin of course condemns: observing that, as it is to be "the first object with a Christian man in selecting a wife, to find a companion and help-meet in all the duties of a holy and religious life," the sacrifice of that leading object must always be criminal: and adding, (in the other letter,) "In too many instances have I found how far they

Connexion with papists.

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withdraw from Christ, who entangle themselves in such connexions." He admits however a distinction between the weakness of conforming to popish ceremonies through fear, and the hostility of attachment to antichrist. Nor would he put even an attached papist on the same footing with a Turk or a heathen.—The validity of popish baptism he could not doubt: for, says he, "when we withhold from papists the name of *a church*, we still do not deny that some remains of a church continue with them." And this he explains, in his second letter, as "not to be restricted to the elect who are interspersed among them," but to mean that "the ruins of a scattered church exist under the papacy." "However broken and deformed it may be, a church of some sort exists." And in pooof of this he quotes 2 Thess. ii. 4, that the man of sin "sitteth *in the temple of God*."—To deprive children of baptism on account of popish abuses, or even because it could not be had without them, he thought even a greater fault than presenting them to baptism under all those disadvantages. It involved an apparent "contempt of Christianity itself." Parents so circumstanced, he feels, were in a most painful dilemma: such as furnished, in his opinion, a strong reason for their removing to more favoured countries.—On attending the services in popish churches merely for the gratification of curiosity, he is very severe. "It admits," he says, "of no excuse, whatever may be pretended. The very gratification felt shews that the persons, capable of receiving it, are not affected as they ought to be with the dishonour done to God: and there is a profaneness in the practice"—in seeming to concur in idolatry, and in making a religious service an amuse-

Church of Rome how far a Christian church.

Popish Baptism.

Attending popish services for amusement.

ment.—On the subject of the resurrection of the body, such testimonies as were easily collected from scripture satisfied him, "so as to leave no anxiety or doubt on his mind: nay so as to raise him above all fear of death." But, as they did not satisfy his correspondent, he said he must decline discussing the subject any further: he had no wish to go beyond what was written: "You will not induce me," he says, "to pass the bounds prescribed us by God." Further inquiry, however alluring or plausible, was ensnaring—"speciosæ illecebræ." A. D. 1549. The resurrection.

The former of these letters Calvin concludes with addressing Socinus as his "beloved brother in Christ:" and we find Bullinger entertaining a like favourable opinion of him as late as the year 1558.[1]

In these extracts again sentiments occur which many persons would not have expected from Calvin. A wrong estimate has very generally been formed of him.

[1] Calv. Epist. p. 54, 57. Fueslin, Epist. p. 413.

CHAPTER XXV.

HISTORY OF CALVIN CONTINUED.

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Predestination.

THE name of Calvin is so associated in the minds of most persons in the present age with the question of predestination, that they are apt to consider him in scarcely any other light than as the assertor of dogmas with respect to it, on which some delight disproportionately to dwell, and from which others revolt with horror. The two positions which I shall feel myself warranted in maintaining are, 1. That his doctrines upon that deep and difficult subject were no *peculiarities* of his; and, 2. That it was not his great subject—that which mainly employed his powers; much less that on which he exclusively dwelt. It may be true that, by giving a more regular and consistent form to the tenets which he embraced upon this head, he might contribute to their wider and more permanent reception: but he seems on the whole rather to have softened than aggravated what had previously been taught with respect to it. This may appear from comparing the remarks which we have had occasion to offer on the doctrines of Zwingle.

I make these observations in the present connexion, because of a fact relating to our history, which has arisen by no contrivance on

my part, nay which did not draw my attention till I had arrived at the period that we have now reached. The fact I mean is this, that we have now passed through more than half of the twenty-eight years that Calvin's ministry lasted, without even hearing of the question of predestination. I do not mean that he did not hold and teach the same doctrines during that time, as in the subsequent part of his life. His Institutes were before the public from the very commencement of the term, and they from the first asserted his predestinarian tenets: but no controversy, no discussion arose upon the subject, at least between protestants. Calvin published nothing separately upon it. In his work on the will, in reply to Pighius, which obtained the approbation of Melancthon in the year 1543, the question of predestination is expressly reserved for a separate publication, which, as his opponent died soon after, never appeared during the period on which our remark is made.[1] His work against the Libertines, which he published in 1544, is in great part employed in refuting and reprobating those avowed principles of their's, which are often charged as implied in his own doctrine—such as making God the author of sin, and destroying human responsibility. In fact, his main conflict at Geneva from the first had been, not against those who differed from him on such points; it had hardly been even against the errors of popery; but rather against the great practical evils which prevailed, and in enforcing upon men, that "every one who named the name of Christ must depart from iniquity," if he would be acknowledged as his disciple.

A. D. 1550.

[1] Closing paragraph, Op. viii. p. 177, and opening paragraph of his work on Predestination, A. D. 1552, ib. p. 594.

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Bolsec first raises controversy respecting it. 1551.

The person who first raised discussion at Geneva concerning predestination was one who, according to the report of all parties, could do no credit to any cause: though this, it is true, does not affect the merits of the question itself. This person was Jerome Bolsec, late a Carmelite monk of Paris. He had travelled into Italy, and had assumed, it would appear, with little preparation for it, the character of a physician.[1] He also professed the protestant faith, and on that ground presented himself at the court of the duchess of Ferrara; whence he was soon driven in disgrace. He appeared at Geneva as a physician, and there it seems entered into some private discussions with Calvin, before he publicly objected to the doctrines taught in the churches. At length on the 16 October, 1551, having attended the Friday lecture in the cathedral, which was on that day delivered by St. André, minister of Jussy, from the text, "He that is of God heareth God's words: ye therefore hear them not because ye are not of God," he availed himself of the liberty allowed to the hearers on those occasions, of proposing to the lecturer any doubts or difficulties which they might feel on the subject of his lecture: and, further encouraged perhaps by the supposed absence of Calvin, who had come in late and did not appear in his place, he stood forward and openly impugned the predestinarian doctrine as making God the author of sin, and maintained that election is the consequence of our faith, and not the source to which it is to be traced. The abettors of the doctrine which he opposed, he said, endeavoured to support it by certain passages

1 "Triduo medicus factus." Beza. "Ex circumforaneis medicis." Pastores Genev.

culled from S. Augustine: but it was not the doctrine of that father or of other ancient doctors, but was derived from Laurentius Valla,[1] who belonged only to the preceding age: and he concluded with warning the people against the false, scandalous, and pernicious dogmas which were delivered to them upon this topic. Calvin suffered his opponent to conclude his harangue without interruption, and then came forward from the seclusion in which he had been sitting: and, if we may not assume with his friends, that his reply was so conclusive and overpowering as to make every one except Bolsec himself blush for the rash assailant, we must in common candour, I conceive, admit that the unexpected occurrence gave occasion to a signal display of the reformer's promptitude and talent. He spoke for more than an hour in defence of the doctrine taught in the churches of Geneva, and in reply to all that had been urged against it; adducing from memory, not only so many passages of scripture, but so many testimonies from Augustine, "that it might have been supposed he had employed the whole day in collecting them," instead of pouring them forth on the spur of the moment. Farel happened then to be at Geneva, and present in the church: and he added a short address in support of the principles of himself and his brethren, and in exposure of the wrong which was done them, in attributing to them that "most pestilent dogma of making God the author of sin"—which, he observed, Calvin had professedly refuted in his writings, particularly in his book against the Libertines.

A.D. 1551.

It might have been well had the friends of Calvin been content with their triumph over

[1] Above, Vol. ii. 192, 201.

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an unworthy adversary: but a magistrate who was present proceeded (according to the fashion of the times,) to inflict chastisement of another kind upon Bolsec, and committed him to prison for seditiously endeavouring to alienate the people from their ministers.[1] During his imprisonment conferences were held with him by Calvin and the other ministers of Geneva; the particulars of which being taken down in writing were, at the request of the ministers, submitted to the churches of Zuric, Berne, and Basle, that their judgment might be had on the questions at issue. Among the epistles of Calvin we have the address of the pastors of Geneva to the churches of Switzerland in general, soliciting their opinion; a letter of Calvin's to the ministers of Basle (dated January, 1552,) on the answer they had returned—which, though it contained, he says, "nothing but what was pious and orthodox," was "less full and explicit" than he could have wished; and, finally, a letter to Christopher Libertet, or Fabri, who was anxious to detach the doctrine of reprobation from that of election.[2] The annotator on Spon gives us, further,

Opinions of the Swiss Churches.

[1] "Quia tumultuose plebem hortatus fuerat, ne se decipi a nobis sineret." Pastores Genev. in Calv. Epist. p. 64 (a).

[2] Calv. Epist. p. 63, 64, 65. In the epistle of the pastors of Geneva we find reprobation most offensively spoken of as proceeding "from the bare will and pleasure of God"—*nudo Dei placito*—when no such thing as we should understand by the words is meant. This appears from what presently follows: "It is beyond controversy, that the perdition of men is to be ascribed to their own wickedness;" and that the punishments which God inflicts on them are "deserved." It would seem that all which they mean, and which Calvin generally, at least, means by such obnoxious language, is, that, among a *fallen* and *guilty* race, God according to his sovereign pleasure chooses whom he will bring to salvation, and whom (according to the title of Calvin's work on Predes-

an extract from the answer of Berne, with which he says those of the other churches corresponded, and in which, he adds, "the writers express themselves with a reserve and wisdom on so deep a subject, which do them great honour." Indeed the extract which he gives, breathes a spirit of tolerance and forbearance unwonted in those times. "We must guard," say its authors, "against too much severity towards those who are in error, lest, while we with excessive eagerness seek purity of doctrine, we violate the rules of the Spirit of Christ. Truth is dear to Christ: but so are the souls of his sheep, and that, not only when they walk in the truth without stumbling, but when they wander in devious paths..... Remember how much more easily men are led back to order by mildness, than dragged back by severity... With respect to the particular points in dispute, you are sensible how much difficulty they have occasioned to good men—men of whom we could not otherwise think unfavourably... Of him who has raised the present contention we are altogether ignorant." When the answer of the church of Basle was read, Bolsec (who was still in prison for want of bail,)[1] declared that he was willing to subscribe it: but Calvin in his reply to the ministers of Basle, A. D. 1551.

tination he will "leave in their ruin." This appears to be the constant meaning of Calvin in the work which he now published on these subjects.

[1] Calvin however says, (appealing to the magistrates for the fact,) that Bolsec was reported to be in strict confinement, at the very time that he was walking freely in the market place; and that he himself was falsely and wickedly charged with seeking to have him capitally punished. "Such calumnies," he says, "it is the part of wisdom to refute by a dignified silence and contempt, till they vanish of themselves into empty air." Op. viii. 593.

says, the vanity of this boast was easily exposed; and "wishes that such a confession as that city had sent could have been drawn from Bolsec at first: it would have superseded the necessity of all the subsequent proceedings."

From the whole of this account we are led to the conclusion, that the doctrine of Geneva on these points went somewhat beyond that of the neighbouring churches at this period, without being considered as furnishing the least ground of variance between them.—As for the conduct of Bolsec on the receipt of the answers of the churches, particularly that of Basle, we must consider it, when compared with what had preceded and what followed, as marked by that insincerity and equivocation which might be expected in a man of his character. [1]

Bolsec banished from Geneva,

The result was that Bolsec was banished from Geneva on pain of being whipped if he should ever return, for his seditious conduct and Pelagian doctrine, and some add also for the scandals of his life: and, as he still caused much disturbance in the country, Berne soon after pronounced a like sentence against him. He retired into France: where ten years afterwards he recanted his doctrines in a full synod of the protestant churches at Orleans, and seems to have been admitted a minister among them. But in the synod of the next year held at, Lyons he was deposed, and is styled by the synod "a most infamous liar and apostate." [2] He at length fully went back to popery, and wrote a life of Calvin, the character of which shall be given elsewhere, from an author who

and from Berne.

(1562.)

(1577.)

[1] "He condemned Zwingle above all others, but falsely asserted that Bullinger was of his sentiments." Past. Genev.: and on Bullinger, J. H. Hottinger H. E.

[2] Quick's Synodicon, i. 47.

cannot be supposed to have any prejudice in favour either of the reformer or the Genevese church. [1] A. D. 1552.

The events which we have related gave occasion to Calvin's treatise on Predestination, which was published in the name of his co-pastors as well as his own. [2] It is highly applauded by Beza, and is said to have been fully approved at Geneva; but the magistrates of Berne, Spon tells us, "would neither approve nor disapprove it, wisely forbidding their ministers to preach to the people on such high matters." Prohibitions of this kind are properly and almost necessarily nugatory, whether they proceed from civil or from ecclesiastical authority. Great caution and moderation on such a subject may be properly recommended, but to attempt to impose silence on a minister respecting a topic which he conscientiously believes to form part of the message divinely committed to him, and even clearly sees to occupy a place in the oracles of God, whatever may be the proper interpretation of it, must manifestly be unwarrantable. Calvin's treatise on Predestination. 1552.

But the flame thus kindled was not extinguished by the removal of the hand which had first applied the torch. Sebastian Castellio, a name well known in the departments of biblical translation and criticism, still fanned it, and disseminated doctrines in Switzerland which were charged as Pelagian. Castellio was a native of Dauphiny or Savoy, (it is uncertain Seb. Castellio. 1552-3.

[1] Beza, Vit. Calv. et Præf. in Calv. Com. in Josh. Spon, i. 290—293. Bayle, art. *Bolsec.*

[2] Op. viii. 593—629. "Consensus pastorum Genevensis ecclesiæ a Joan. Calvino expositus." The whole division of Calvin's miscellaneous works relating to these subjects comprises only two articles, occupying no more than 55 out of 800 pages.

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which,) born in the year 1515. Calvin had contracted a friendship with him at Strasburg, in the year 1540, and on his return to Geneva procured him the situation of a master in the public school of that city. He was a man of learning and genius, and we would hope of piety: but he was deeply injured by vanity and the affectation of novelty. He seems to have been piqued at Calvin for the disapprobation which that judicious critic expressed for the conceits that disfigured his Latin and French versions of the scriptures; in the former of which Castellio affected to express every thing, however remote from ancient Roman ideas, by classical terms exclusively, and in the latter ran into the opposite extreme of colloquial vulgarity and even coarseness. Having taken this distaste at Calvin, Castellio proceeded further, speaking with indecent levity of the book of Canticles, and presuming to expunge it from the canon. He also uttered injurious reproaches against the ministers of Geneva. And for (1544.) these offences he lost his place, and was desired to quit the city. He retired to Basle, where he obtained the office of a professor of Greek; and passed there the remainder of his days, which were closed 29 December, 1563. He was the father of a numerous family, and was so poor that his death is said to have been occasioned by absolute want. From Basle he wrote against the predestinarian doctrine, and otherwise annoyed Calvin. He is charged also with favouring the mystics and fanatics of his age: and he certainly consulted not either for the good of the church, or for his own fair fame, by translating into Latin a well-known work of Ochino's, which countenanced polygamy and was tainted with antitrinitarian doctrine.

Another thing which gained him no favour in his own age, but will certainly not injure him with us, was, that, under the name of Martin Bellius, he was perhaps the only author of his time who wrote expressly "against punishing heretics with the sword." Beza and Calvin have applied to him that hard language, which it was then the fashion to employ against almost every opponent: but, though he was certainly often rash and presumptuous, he is not to be classed with such men as Bolsec. His appeals to Beza in his Defence of himself against his charges are said to be very touching. It does not appear that he was ever in orders. He would have been admitted to the sacred office at Geneva with Calvin's approbation, but for the unhappy differences which arose between them.[1] A. D. 1552.

A Genevese also of the name of Troillet, who had assumed the character of a hermit in France, and on his return home had some years before occasioned trouble, by aiming, in opposition to Calvin, to force himself upon the people as one of their pastors, and on being disappointed had applied himself to the study of the law and become the advocate of the libertine party, availed himself of these disputes to give further disturbance to the reformer. It is pleasing to have to add, that this person some years after, on his deathbed, shewed signs of true repentance, and, sending for Calvin, confessed his faults to him, avowing that he Troillet.

[1] Beza, Vit. Calv. ann. 1542, 1544, 1552. Spon, i. 292. Calv. Epist. 83 (b). Bayle, art. Castalio. His proper name was Castellio, and he confesses in a somewhat penitential manner, towards the end of his life, his having at an early period varied it, from the affectation of bearing a poetical designation, and marking his connexion with the Muses.

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could not die in peace without obtaining his forgiveness. Calvin attended him to the last, and administered to him the consolations of the gospel. [1]

Melancthon's disagreement with Calvin on the subject of predestination.

But there was another person whose want of accordance with Calvin on the question of predestination, though it never broke out into any open opposition, seems clearly to have given him more concern than the hostility of any whom we have mentioned. I refer to Melancthon. We have before seen in what manner he expressed himself concerning the present proceedings at Geneva, and indeed generally on the topics now under discussion.[2] This, together with Melancthon's silence ever since Calvin's letter to him on the adiaphoristic controversy—more than two years before—occasioned the latter much anxiety, lest any interruption of their friendship should take place, or should even be suspected by posterity to have occurred. The receipt of another letter from him at this time, in which he expressed a resolution to visit Calvin if his fears of being again obliged to quit his country should be realized, was therefore a very seasonable relief to the mind of the latter; and he takes the occasion in replying to it (28 November, 1552,) to advert to what had passed at Geneva, and to his friend's mode of treating the questions which had there come under consideration. He acknowledges the great authority of Melancthon's name, to which he ought rather himself to submit, than to expect him to come over to his sentiments. But these were not the grounds to be taken by either party. Conscience, Calvin declares, would not permit him to assent to Melancthon's

[1] Beza, ann. 1545, 1552. Spon, i. 292.
[2] Vol. ii. 206—214.

statements on these subjects: he "treated the question of free will" with too much deference to philosophy: and in discoursing of election seemed only to aim at accommodating himself to the common apprehensions of mankind." He "confounded election with the promises of God, *which are universal.*" Four times over in the space of a few lines does Calvin repeat this sentiment, of the universality of the "promises" and "offers" of the gospel. "Nothing," he says, "is better known than that the preaching of the word is common to all without exception:" but, "while the promises *offer the grace of Christ to all alike*, and God by the outward call *invites every one to salvation*, the gift of faith is peculiar to the elect."—While the closing declaration will be distasteful to numbers who will approve the sentences by which it is introduced, we cannot but exclaim, Oh that all who concur with Calvin in that declaration would but simply follow the scriptures as he does in those sentences! that they would cease to construct systems, and to regulate their preaching, by inferences drawn, it may be, from scriptural principles, but which contradict the general tenour of scripture, and condemn the universal practice of inspired preachers!—Calvin proceeds to tell his friend that it pains him to find that he on this subject departed from his usual mildness: for he heard that, on reading the concord of the churches of Zuric and Geneva, he had drawn his pen through the brief article which "soberly and sparingly distinguished between the elect and the reprobate."[1] He could not hope therefore that Melancthon would read his late work on predestination. He wishes they could meet and confer toge-

A. D. 1552.

[1] Above, p. 397, Calv. Op. viii. 649. (Art. 16.)

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ther. His friend's candor, ingenuousness, and moderation he fully acknowledged, and "both men and angels were witnesses of his piety:" so that he could not but hope the whole difference in their views would be easily cleared up if they could discuss it together.[1]—The next letter, at least the next which is preserved among Calvin's epistles, is dated nearly two years after: 27 August, 1554. It commences with alluding to a letter (probably that just recited,) to which the writer had received no answer. He trusted this arose from no abatement of affection, which Melancthon had ever disclaimed: yet he could not but think this silence "hurtful to the church of God." "I lately wrote to you," he says, "on that head of doctrine on which you rather conceal your meaning, (sensum tuum dissimulas,) than differ from us.... And yet the acknowledgment of the gratuitous mercy of God is entirely overthrown, unless we hold that by his mere good pleasure are the faithful, whom he hath chosen to salvation, distinguished from the reprobate; and that thus faith springs from God's secret election.... Consider, in a manner worthy of your judgment, how preposterous it would be for this doctrine to be plucked up by the roots by so consummate a theologian. That a manifest disagreement should be perceived in our writings would be a matter of the worst example. I do not ask you, in order to avoid this, to assent to my doctrine, but let us not be ashamed to subscribe to the oracles of God."[2]

[1] Epist. p. 66.

[2] Epist. p. 82. Here, and in subsequent letters, p. 97, and perhaps pp. 100 and 115, he complains of the like "taciturnity," and want of avowal of his real sentiments, on

A. D. 1552.

In two other letters of the same date, one to Peter Martyr, then resident at Strasburg after his return from England, and the other to Sleidan the historian, rejoicing in his appointment to be one of the three directors of the French church at Strasburg, (which Calvin had founded,) he speaks in terms which we should not have expected, and ought not to have met with, after the sentences which we have just quoted. To the former he says, "I am much concerned on account of Philip. So then it is not enough for his flexibility to incline whithersoever the favour of men draws him, or to betray the truth by silence, but he must endeavour to bend to conformity with his own softness enlightened servants of God, whom he ought rather himself to strive to imitate!"—To Sleidan his language is still stronger. "How far I ought to congratulate myself on the agreement of Philip with me on one point, I know not, when on the principal topics he either openly opposes (oppugnat) sound doctrine, to ingratiate himself with the philosophers, [1] or, in order to avoid odium, craftily, or at least too little ingenuously, conceals his sentiments—*sensum suum tegit*. May the Lord endue him with a bolder spirit, lest posterity should suffer severely through his timidity!" [2]

the part of Melancthon, relative to the sacrament—by which he thought he encouraged a mischievous party, and failed to uphold the truth.—Here again he speaks of it as a point on which he agreed with Luther, "that the sacraments are not empty signs: ... that in baptism *the power of the Spirit is present to wash and regenerate us:* and that the sacred supper is a spiritual feast, in which we *truly feed on the flesh and blood of Christ.*" p. 82.

[1] I adopt the mildest rendering of the phrase: "Philosophis se venditans."—"*Venditare se alicui*, to insinuate himself." Ainsworth. It might mean, to *sell* himself: and so Waterman renders it.

[2] Epist. p. 83, 85.

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—Might not even a very moderate degree of candor have found a better motive for Melancthon's declining to take a decided part on this profound and perplexing question, (and that is all that could be imputed to him by one who the same day wrote, "You rather conceal your sentiments than differ from us,") than either of those here assigned? This more full examination of the question leads me to conclude, that Melancthon must have written rather what he *wished* to believe, than what he could distinctly and decidedly think, when he told Calvin in 1543, that their sentiments on these subjects substantially agreed, only that he himself stated them in a more popular and practical manner:[1] but this by no means amounts to such a discrepancy as we discover between these letters *to* Melancthon and *concerning* him, written in close succession one after the other. We must here, I am afraid, admit and censure a want of "simplicity and godly sincerity," with which the writer was in general little chargeable. The most charitable supposition would be, that the letters to Martyr and Sleidan, though ranged last, were written first; and that, as they are brief and hasty, they were also rash in their language, and expressed more than the writer was prepared deliberately to maintain; and that he felt this when he came to address Melancthon himself.

Melancthon, it would seem, pertinaciously declined entering into the discussion of the question with his more determined correspondent. Hence the last notice which I find of it, in connexion with him, is in a letter dated March, 1555, in which Calvin says: "As long as ever you will allow me, I must again and

[1] Above p. 376.

again entreat you to revolve with yourself what I have written, though it be *in silence*. I trust you will thus use your endeavours, that a more sound form of instruction concerning the gratuitous election of the righteous, than has hitherto been adopted, may be agreed upon between us."[1] A. D. 1552.

In taking leave for the present of this subject, which, more perhaps than any other, has divided truly pious and good men, and often estranged them from one another, I am inclined to offer a remark or two occasioned by Calvin's imputation of motives for Melancthon's reserve, and "concealment of his sentiments," as Calvin styles it, though it might rather have been described as a forbearing to form any very decisive sentiments on this question. Is not this point of ascribing motives, I would ask, one on which both parties have been culpable? Each of them is ready to take credit to its adherents, not only for superior wisdom and discernment on divine subjects, but for superior piety also, on the ground of the side they take with respect to these doctrines. On the one part deeper humility, more profound submission to the will of God and dependence on his grace alone; and, on the other, a more earnest care to exhibit all his perfections in unsullied purity and honour, and a more enlarged and unrestrained benevolence to all our fellow creatures, are laid claim to. But is there not in each of these claims much unwarranted assumption? Certainly, as Calvin observes, the one object should be to ascertain and "to bow to the dictates of the oracles of God." I cannot however but suspect that, independently of any desire to ingratiate himself with the philoso- Remarks on the reception of Calvinistic doctrines.

[1] Epist. p. 97.

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phers, and to escape odium, there was something in the very constitution of Melancthon's mind, which (whatever speculations he might somewhat rashly have indulged in his early days,[1]) made it natural and almost unavoidable that he should take a much less decisive part on this subject than was taken by his friend. Some minds, it would seem, can enter into the discussion of profound questions, involving the eternal destinies of themselves and the whole human race, and pursue the principles they lay down to all their real or supposed consequences, with almost as much calmness and abstraction as they would investigate a mathematical theorem, in no way affecting the known interests of themselves or any other fellow creature. Other minds, and in many instances, I have no doubt, minds not inferior to the former in piety, in "submission to the righteousness of God," and in entire dependence on his grace for salvation, cannot do this. Without at all distrusting the righteousness of the divine dispensations, they are compelled to say in the contemplation of many of them, '"My flesh trembleth for fear of thee, and I am afraid of thy judgments:" "Thy judgments are a great deep:" I must decline to "exercise myself" on these "great matters"—on the rules by which thou assignest the eternal destinies of thy rational creatures: they are "too high for me:" I resign myself entirely to Thee; and leave to others, who may feel themselves more competent to it, to search into this part of "thy ways."'—The effect also which such inquiries, indiscreetly pursued, have often produced in sinking some in despondency and hard-

[1] See vol. ii. p. 191—193, 199; and observe the last sentence of p. 218.

ening others in presumption, still further alarms and distresses such minds. They may think the scriptures clear up to a certain point, and so far they must resolve to go:[1] but beyond this they cannot discern their way; nor can they consent to follow out the apparent leadings of principles which they thus admit, into obscure, and intricate, and unknown regions.[2] They must stop short where scripture no longer seems to lead them by the hand, and where those who still press forward appear to them to contradict other decisive testimonies, or even the general tenor, of the inspired writings. Such I conceive to have been, to a considerable degree, Melancthon's feeling: and such is the case of many now. His sensitive mind, I apprehend, was subject to fears, and pains, and sorrows (let the *strong* man call them *weaknesses* if he will,) of which the hardy spirit of Calvin could scarcely form a conception. Though he would not therefore commit himself in opposition to his brother of Geneva, yet neither could he subscribe to his creed. He would decline the discussion, and to a great degree "keep silence." The thorough partisan may refer the difference to Calvin's deeper humility and piety, as well as to his more penetrating discernment: but I am not prepared to pronounce such a decision: and let him who confidently pronounces it remember, that it is possible to make the very holding of humbling doctrines a ground of pride and self-preference. *He* may need this admonition, even though Calvin did not.

A. D. 1552.

We now come to that event in Calvin's life which has drawn upon him more obloquy and

The case of Servetus. 1553.

[1] See note, vol. ii. p. 209. [2] Calv. Instit. III. xxi. 1, 2.

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bitter reproach than any other part of his history—his doctrine of predestination always excepted. I refer to the death of Servetus. The substance of what I have to offer in the way of observation upon this painful occurrence may be comprised in one short sentence. For the fact or the practice of putting men to death even for the most enormous religious errors, no apology whatever is to be offered: but for the *persons* who, when it had been the approved practice of ages, concurred in it, or even in some instances promoted it, much excuse will be found in the breast of every honest man, who reflects how far he is himself influenced by the custom, and sentiments of those around him, and the principles in which he has been brought up. That the reformers should so far have achieved the difficult task of rising superior to the prejudices, and established modes of thinking, of the age in which they lived, is much more just matter of astonishment than that they should in this instance have remained, unhappily, enslaved to them. We shall see what general concurrence Calvin had to countenance him on this melancholy occasion, and that even the mild and benevolent Melancthon "wondered that any persons could be found to disapprove the severity used!"[1]

His previous history.

I shall proceed to give such an account of the transaction as I have been able to collect from authentic sources, and I hope with entire impartiality.—Michael Servetus was a native of Spain, born at Villenueva in Arragon in the same year with Calvin, A. D. 1509. He was a man of an active vigorous mind, capable of applying himself to diversified pursuits. His profession was medicine, in which he attained

[1] Mel. to Bullinger, in Calv. Epist. p. 108.

superior skill, and is said, at least by his partisans, to have well nigh anticipated our own illustrious countryman, Harvey, in the splendid discovery of the circulation of the blood. He applied also to the study of law and of theology; in the latter of which he was led away by a daring, self-confident, speculating spirit into the extravagances of pantheism, virulent anti-trinitarianism, materialism, and anabaptism, all combined together. At the early age of twenty-two, being then resident at Basle, he clandestinely printed at Haguenau his first work, "On the errors of the Trinity;"[1] and the year following another, intitled "Dialogues concerning the Trinity." It was not long after this time that he avoided meeting Calvin at Paris, after having professed an earnest desire to discuss his sentiments with him.[2] About the year 1546 (perhaps for some time before and after that date,) Calvin corresponded with him, while he was resident at Vienne, in the hope of reclaiming him from his errors; and he himself published thirty of his own letters to the reformer, perhaps in that volume which brought him into trouble, and ultimately to the stake.[3] In this correspondence he assumed a high and boasting tone, telling Calvin "what stupendous and unheard of things he would see" in a

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1531.

1534.

[1] Œc. et Zuing. Epist. fo. 1 (a, b), 173, 188. It has been doubted whether Servetus derived the infection of his doctrine from Italy, in a visit which he paid there very early in life, or whether he communicated it to that country. Dr. M'Crie says, "Upon the whole, I am inclined to think that the antitrinitarian opinions," which spread there widely, "were introduced into Italy by means of the writings of Servetus." Ref. in Italy, p. 151.

[2] Above, p. 342.

[3] Calvin himself notices the publication of these letters, Op. viii. 511 (b). Middleton's Biographia Evangelica says they formed part of Servetus's last work.

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volume of his writing which he sent him,[1] and offering to come to Geneva if Calvin would countenance his so doing. Calvin however even at that time scrupled not to declare, that "if Servetus came, and *his* influence could prevent it, he should not go away alive."[2] This is much to be noted: because one of the imputations cast upon Calvin is, that he trepanned Servetus into his power, by encouraging him to come to Geneva. In 1552, while still residing at Vienne, Servetus procured his "Restitution of Christianity" to be secretly printed at Lyons, and published it under the name of Villanovanus, which he commonly assumed, from the place of his birth: and for this work, which was filled with all his monstrous errors, and *that* it is said most offensively and blasphemously expressed, he was imprisoned. The enemies of Calvin have charged him with instigating the magistrates of Vienne, through the influence of the cardinal of Tournon, to this proceeding against Servetus; and with putting into their hands the letters he had received from this arch-heretic: and it is true that they did obtain this correspondence, having themselves applied to the magistrates of Geneva to procure it for them; but this was after their proceedings against Servetus had been instituted: and it was never brought forward in those proceedings. That Calvin in the first instance communicated the correspondence, and instigated the proceedings he himself ab-

His imprisonment at Vienne, 1553:

[1] This has been mistaken by Senebier and others for the "Restoratio Christianismi," Servetus's last work. But the letter quoted is dated February, 1546, and the Restitutio was not published till 1552 or 1553. Annot. on Spon. Calv. Epist. p. 70 (b). &c.

[2] Senebier, i. 209.

solutely denies: and, as he observes, it was utterly improbable or even absurd to suppose that *he* should be in correspondence on such a subject with the magistrates of Vienne, and still more with such a man as the cardinal of Tournon, one of the principal persecutors of the protestants in France! and accordingly this charge is never advanced against him either by Bolsec or Maimbourg,[1] both of them his determined enemies, and the former of them the author of a life of the reformer written, as all acknowledge, on purpose to blast his reputation. In fact, Calvin affirms that Servetus had spread this report of his having informed against him, four years before his imprisonment at Vienne took place; and its fallacy had been demonstrated by his living unmolested till the publication of his last offensive work.[2] Servetus made his escape from Vienne, and on 17 June, 1553, sentence of death was pronounced against him in his absence, and he was burned in effigy together with five bales of his books. After his escape he roved about in Italy[3] and elsewhere for some months, and then in an evil hour came to Geneva. It would seem that he did not intend to continue there:[4] but, the fact

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and escape.

He comes to Geneva,

[1] Senebier, i. 205. "Bolsec says, that Servetus quitted Lyons because 'his pride, his insolence, and the danger of his projects made him equally feared and hated.'" This was before his correspondence with Calvin. Senebier adds, that wherever he went he left the same impression of his character behind him. Ib. 207.

[2] Opera, viii. 517 (a).

[3] Calv. Epist. p. 70 (b). "Nescio quomodo elapsus, per Italiam erravit fere quater menses."

[4] Spon says, he began to spread his doctrines there: "Où il commença à dogmatiser:" but I am willing to consider this as questionable. I do not find it alleged by Calvin: rather the contrary: for he says, "Perhaps he meant to pass this way: (hac transire:) for his intention in coming is not

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and is imprisoned.

of his presence in the city being made known to Calvin, he was at his instance committed to prison.[1] And, as the proceedings were first commenced against him, so were the next steps necessary to his prosecution taken, by a person nearly connected with Calvin, and, he himself acknowledges, put forward by him for the purpose.[2] The commitment of Servetus took place the 13th of August.

Proceedings against him.

He was forthwith subjected to examination, and a series of articles extracted from his writings was presented to him, which he was required to retract, deny, explain, or defend, as he should see good. For this as much time was allowed him as he chose to demand: and, as he conceived that it would be to his advantage to make the last reply in his own defence, this too was granted him.[3] Had he shewn any "moderation" and common prudence under these circumstances, Calvin affirms he might have saved his life:[4] but, instead of seeking at

yet known. But, when he was recognised, I thought he ought to be detained." Calvin to Farel, 20 August: Epist. p. 70 (a). And thus accordingly the annotator on Spon: "He kept himself concealed for a month, (at Geneva,) waiting for a convenient opportunity of departing." Beza also says, "Alio procul transiturus."

[1] Calvin is explicit enough on the part which he himself took in procuring the detention of Servetus: "One of the syndics, at my instigation, (ME AUCTORE,) committed him to prison." To Sultzer, 9 Sept. Epist. p. 70 (b): item Op. viii. 517 (a).

[2] Nicholas de la Fontaine, a student of divinity. Some style him Calvin's secretary. "Nicolaus meus." Calv. The course by which an accuser at Geneva bound himself over to prosecute, as we should say, was submitting to go to prison with the accused, till the charge should be so far substantiated (as among us by the finding of a true bill by a grand jury,) as to warrant its being committed to the public prosecutor.

[3] Calv. Op. viii. 523.

[4] Calv. in Senebier, i. 216-7. Item, Opera, viii. 517 (a).

all to conciliate favour, he conducted himself in the most insolent manner. "Fifty times over" he gave to Calvin the lie direct, applied to him the most opprobrious epithets, and styled him "Simon the sorcerer."[1] On the 22d of August, Servetus, beginning to be alarmed for the issue, addressed a petition to the magistrates, urging, with sufficient propriety, that it was "a practice unknown to the apostles of Christ and to the ancient churches, to institute criminal proceedings against persons for their religious opinions; that, whatever he might have done elsewhere, he had published nothing at Geneva or within its dependencies which could give offence; that his writings were not addressed to the people but to the learned; (being in the Latin tongue;) and that he had no where shewn himself seditious or a disturber of the peace: and in fine he begged to have counsel assigned him to conduct his cause." If it be indeed true that to the prayer of this petition the following answer was returned, "That those who broached such impieties, as he had done, were not worthy to have an advocate allowed them;" we record it with pain: but this account is derived from the anonymous annotators on Spon, who seem disposed to put as favourable a construction on Servetus's case, as circumstances will at all allow. Further conferences were held with him, and further examinations taken: the particulars of which

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[1] His recorded and even written answers to Calvin in the official documents are continually in this language, "Mentiris: mentiris, nebulo pessime," &c. Vide Calv. Op. viii. 528—538. The annotators on Spon refer this reviling of Calvin to a later period, after the assistance of counsel had been refused him: but Calvin expressly notices it in an epistle dated 20 August, previous to that additional provocation.

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Opinions of the Swiss Churches.

were all noted down: and, on Servetus's own appeal,[1] copies of the whole, together with Servetus's late publication, were transmitted to the churches of Zuric, Berne, Basle, and Schaffhausen, for their opinion on the previous question, ("præjudicium,") of the heretical and blasphemous character of his opinions. Their several replies are printed among the Epistles of Calvin.[2] They all agree on the fact of Servetus's having propagated enormous heresies, contrary to the universally received doctrine of the Christian church; and that of Zuric, in particular, affirms the correctness with which the statement of those errors had been collected from his printed book.[3] They further all implore of Almighty God that he would direct the syndics and senate of Geneva to a right course in so painful a case, hoping they would take care "that the poison should be spread no further by its present disseminator." I quote the words of the answer from Zuric, which was the strongest. That from Basle expresses the hope, that they would "spare no pains to recover the offender," but that, if that were impracticable, "they would use the power committed to them to prevent his doing further injury to the church." Calvin himself in writing to Farel the day before the execution of Servetus thus

[1] "Quum ille provocaret ad alias ecclesias. *Ib.*

[2] P. 72—74.

[3] The annotators on Spon affirm that Servetus, in his examinations in prison, disowned some of the most atrocious dogmas imputed to him, and certain terms, too shocking to be repeated, which he was charged with having applied to the doctrine and the divine persons of the Trinity. But Senebier's representation is different: (i. 213.) and it is obvious that the real sentiments and language of Servetus were rather to be collected from what he had previously published, when under no restraint.

characterizes the several replies: "With one consent they all pronounce that he has revived the impious errors with which Satan of old disturbed the church; and is a monster not to be endured. Those of Basle are discreet (cordati): those of Zuric the most vehement of all. They strongly express the atrocity of his impieties, and exhort our senate to severity. Schaffhausen subscribes the sentiments of Zuric. From Berne, the senate adds its letters to the pertinent one of the pastors; a circumstance which strongly stimulates our magistrates."[1]—Before sentence was pronounced some attempts were made, particularly by Perrin, to save the accused, or to refer his fate to the council of two hundred: but they were made in vain, and he seems to have been condemned without a division.[2] He was accordingly burned alive on the 27th of October, 1553—"shewing," says Beza, "no sign of repentance," but, adds Spon, discovering "a great dread of death." He is said, however, to have been "sufficiently collected to make a speech, in which he avowed his adherence to his former sentiments." Calvin further informs us, that Servetus two hours before his execution sent for him, and "begged his pardon." Calvin, in reply, told him, that he had never thought of revenging himself on him for any personal injuries; and admonished him "with all mildness; reminding him that sixteen years before he had endeavoured, even at the risk of his own life, to reclaim him, and that it had not been through his fault that Servetus had not by re-

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His execution.

[1] Epist. p. 71 (a). These letters and papers might have been supposed to be arranged in the volume, with a studied disregard to their respective dates.

[2] "Sine controversiâ tamen damnatus est." Calvin, ibid.

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pentance been restored to the friendship of all religious persons." After this, Calvin added, he had treated with him in private correspondence, without wishing to draw public attention, to the same purport; and had omitted no office of kindness, till, irritated by his faithful reproofs, Servetus had poured forth a torrent of abuse against him. Calvin then exhorted him to seek forgiveness of God: but, finding his admonitions unavailing, he desisted and withdrew.[1]

We have seen that the very day before Servetus suffered, and as it would seem in the evening of that day, Calvin wrote to Farel, as at a distance, an account of what had passed: concluding, "To-morrow he will be led out to punishment.... Salute all my friends. Our's here salute you. Geneva, 26 October, 1553." From this circumstance I had been induced to distrust the assertion commonly made by the biographers of Calvin, but without reference to any sufficient authority, that Farel attended Servetus to the stake. It seems however that inferences of this kind must be admitted with caution; for, whether Farel had unexpectedly arrived after Calvin's letter was written, or in whatever way it happened, I find that the statement of his being present is correct. Calvin himself says, "When he (Servetus) arrived at the place of punishment, the request was with difficulty extorted from him by the exhortations of our excellent brother and fellow-labourer, Farel, that the people would unite with him in prayer..... Farel exhorted the people to supplicate for him, particularly that the Lord,

[1] Calv. Op. viii. 511, in his "Refutation of the errors of Servetus," a work in which many of the authentic documents that have been alluded to are preserved.

taking compassion of the otherwise lost man, would reclaim him from his execrable errors to a right mind." [1] A. D. 1553.

Sentiments and proceedings of Calvin.

On the sentiments of Calvin concerning this deplorable transaction, I collect the following additional passages. In the introduction to his "Refutation of the Errors of Servetus," which was published the year following, and subscribed by fourteen other ministers of the Genevese church, he says: "Whatever was done by our senate is every where attributed to me. I do not deny that by my advice and exertions he was in due course, (jure) committed to prison: for by the established law of this city it was fit that he should be charged as a criminal. [2] So far I confess that I prosecuted this cause. But that, after his conviction, I uttered not a word [3] concerning his punishment, not only will all good men bear me witness, but I challenge even bad men to produce the proof of the contrary if they can." Such then, I think we are bound to admit, was Calvin's public conduct. But what were his *sentiments*, and how far he qualified his wishes for the punishment of Servetus, and his attempts

[1] Calv. Op. viii. 523 (a). Whether Ancillon's Life of Farel (p. 228,) to which Bayle refers, throws any light on this arrival of Farel, I cannot say, not having been able to procure that work. Another letter of Calvin's to Farel, *as at Geneva*, on the subject of Servetus, of very doubtful authority, is cited, Christian Guardian for 1821, p. 335. Among other things it makes Calvin declare he should not be able to see the criminal the next day, (the day of his execution,) which however we know that he did.

[2] "Quia recepto hujus civitatis jure criminis reum peragere oportuit."—"The ancient laws that had been enacted against heretics by the emperor Frederic II, and had been so frequently renewed after his reign, were still in vigour at Geneva." Mosheim.

[3] "Nullum verbum fecisse."

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to mitigate its severity, his correspondence with his friends will discover. To Farel he writes, August 20: "I hope that a capital sentence will be passed: but I wish the severity (or cruelty) of the punishment to be remitted."[1] It might have been hoped that his meaning was, that, though he desired to see a capital sentence pronounced, to uphold the (supposed) honour of the laws, and for a warning to others, yet he did not wish to see it executed: but his letter to the same correspondent the day before the execution affixes a different sense to his words: "To-morrow he will be brought out to punishment. *The kind of death* we have endeavoured to change, but in vain. Why we did not succeed I will explain to you when we meet."[2] This then was the extent of his interference.[3] To Sultzer, at Berne on the 9th of September, relating the apprehension of Servetus, he had more fully explained his views. "I avow that I thought it my duty as far as in me lay to restrain a man who is more than obstinate and untameable, in order that the contagion might spread no further. We see how insolently impiety every where stalks abroad; whence new errors spring up; and how great is the remissness (ignavia) of those to whom God has confided the power of the sword, in vindicating the honour of his name. While the papists are so alert and fierce in supporting their superstitions that they riot in innocent blood, Christian magistrates might be ashamed to shew themselves destitute of all spirit in defending the

[1] "Spero capitale saltem fore judicium: pœnæ vero atrocitatem remitti cupio."

[2] "Genus mortis conati sumus mutare, sed frustra." Epist. 71 (a).

[3] Yet even this frees him from the reproachful appellation of "exustor Serveti."

sure truth of God's word. I confess indeed that nothing could be more inconsistent than for us to imitate their intemperate fury: but some bounds are to be observed in our moderation, that the impious may not be allowed to vomit forth their blasphemies with impunity, where the power of restraining them exists..... I will only mention one thing further to you—that the treasurer of our city, who will bring you this letter, is right minded in this business, that he (Servetus) may not escape the issue *which we desire.*"[1] It is remarkable that Calvin concludes this very epistle with informing his correspondent, that "the last sabbath three pious brethren were burned at Lyons, and a fourth sent to a neighbouring town to undergo the same punishment. It is scarcely credible," he remarks, "with what a perfect understanding of the gospel these persons, though illiterate men, had been enlightened by the Spirit of God, and with what invincible constancy they were endowed."[2]—Can we forbear exclaiming, Alas! for the weakness and short-sightedness even of the ablest and most discerning of men! How strange, that with such an example before his eyes, and described by his own pen, and with the remarks which are drawn from him on "the inconsistency" of imitating the papists in these cruelties, Calvin should not have perceived, as Luther did,[3] what a fatal rule he was sanctioning against himself and his friends, by admitting the use of the

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[1] "In hac causa recto esse animo, ut saltem exitum quem optamus non fugiat." He adds, "I wish your old scholars might be similarly disposed."—I fear there can be no ambiguity in the sentence.—This "Quæstor urbis" probably conveyed the documents submitted by the senate of Geneva to the pastors of Berne. [2] Epist. p. 70 (b).

[3] See quotations in note at the end of the preface to vol. i. of this work.

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sword or the firebrand of persecution in any case whatever. [1]

What charges are to be admitted, and what rejected against Calvin.

I trust then that I have thus given a faithful statement of this sad case. I have shewn Calvin to have been, by his own confession and avowal, the first mover in the apprehension and prosecution of Servetus. I have admitted that he desired to see sentence of death passed, and I fear I must add executed upon him, though he would have preferred a less cruel mode of execution. I have admitted also that Servetus does not appear to have attempted, at least not to any great extent, to propagate his sentiments during his short residence, of perhaps one month, at Geneva previously to his imprisonment. But on the other hand I have rejected, and do confidently reject, the charge of the reformer's being actuated by long-standing resentment, or indeed by any personal hostility to the heresiarch. It is unsupported, and even contrary to evidence, and is requisite to the solution of none of the phenomena of the case. I have rejected also every imputation of Calvin's attempting to draw Servetus to Geneva, in order to get him into his power. Rather he did the very contrary. In like manner I reject every insinuation of his having adopted clandestine proceedings against him, either before or after his arrival in that city: and all pretences of his having instigated the magistrates of Vienne against him, or betrayed his confidence whether

[1] Calvin has no answer to return to this, but that nothing is to be thus maintained but what is sanctioned by the word of God. As if all would not claim that sanction, who had the power and the will to persecute. Opera, viii. 515-6. Beza thinks it a libel upon scripture to suppose it can have left an opening for such claims on any side but one! The answer, that we have no authority from the New Testament for such measures, cuts off all such vain discussion. Under the Old Testament the case was clearly defined.

to them or to others. Servetus's sending for him "to beg his pardon," which Calvin, in a work published a few months afterwards, and attested by all the ministers of Geneva, affirms that he did in the presence of two members of the senate and "many witnesses," is irreconcilable with the supposition that the unhappy man himself really thought that Calvin had been guilty of such dishonourable conduct towards him. And, finally, I think we are bound to believe, on the credit of Calvin's published appeal to both friends and enemies, above recited, that (whatever his opinions or even his wishes expressed to his friends at a distance might be,) he took no steps to urge forward either the condemnation or execution of Servetus, after his case had been once committed to the public prosecutor. This may seem to be no very important claim to make in his favour, after all that he is admitted to have said and done: but it rebuts the charge in answer to which he himself urges it, and which is still constantly repeated, that the senate of Geneva did but give effect to his decisions throughout the whole affair.[1] Indeed ample proofs present themselves that this was not the fact. Recent instances have occurred in which the senate adopted measures immediately affecting religion without his privity:[2] and we shall soon see that that body was at this very time to a great degree under an influence directly opposed to that of Calvin.[3]

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There is no need gratuitously, and much less maliciously, to accumulate blame upon Calvin in this case: a sufficient load properly and by his own avowal belongs to him, without

Prevailing sentiments of the times.

[1] "Quicquid a senatu nostro actum est, mihi passim ascribitur." [2] Above, p. 391. [3] Below, p. 439, 442.

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any such addition. But it was his deliberate and proclaimed conviction, apart from all personal enmity to Servetus, that such open impugners or corrupters of divine truth deserved the severest punishment from the hands of the magistrate: nay that the magistrate criminally failed of his duty who neglected thus to visit their offences. In his "Refutation of the Errors of Servetus" the assertion and support of this opinion form a distinct head, and hold a prominent place.[1] He puts such offences on the same footing with theft, adultery, or murder; and supposes that no objections lie against the infliction of punishment in the one case, which do not equally hold against it in the other: considers Nebuchadnezzar as highly honoured in scripture for denouncing capital punishment against any who should blaspheme the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego![2] and doubts not that, had a pious and zealous Christian magistrate been at hand, S. Paul would willingly have delivered over Hymenæus and Alexander to him, to receive the chastisement they deserved![3] But all these were the errors not so much of the man as of the age. It is mere vulgar prejudice to refer them to Calvin's peculiar temper, and still more so to pretend

[1] Opera, viii. 511—517. Having refuted, as he pretends, all that was urged against the lawfulness of such proceedings, (and we must acknowledge that the arguments then urged, on one side as well as the other, appear often extraordinarily weak,) he says: "It remains that I shew that not only is the magistrate at liberty to punish corruptors of the heavenly doctrine, but that he is divinely commanded to do so, and that he cannot suffer pestilent errors to pass unpunished without violating the obligations of his office." p. 515 (a).

[2] Dan. iii. 29. No such sentence is found in the ivth chapter, where the same monarch appears much more truly honouring and adoring the God of heaven.

[3] 1 Tim. i. 20.

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that they are to be traced to his scheme of doctrine. They were common to him with almost all his brethren, whether of the Lutheran or of the reformed church. We have already heard the sentiment of the gentle Melancthon, expressing surprise that any could be found to object to what had been done in the case of Servetus. Bucer, Bullinger, Farel, Viret, P. Martyr, Beza, were all of the same mind:[1] nor does it appear that one dissentient voice was raised against the proceeding in any of the four Swiss churches which were consulted by the senate of Geneva. Castellio alone, an opponent of Calvin on other subjects, ventured to write on the opposite side: and so conscious was he that he was going contrary to the sentiments of all around him, and should incur obloquy or even danger if he were known, that he wrote under a feigned name,[2] and afterwards, Beza affirms, denied himself to be the author of the book; while Beza openly answered him, wishing to save the time of Calvin, who was then better employed in writing his Commentaries on Genesis.[3]—And, if to charge these sentiments upon individuals, as rendering them peculiarly obnoxious, is unreasonable and malicious, it is if possible still more absurd, and contrary to the truth of history, to impute to the reformation, and to the reformers as such, errors which their principles, so far from introducing, had only not yet worked long

[1] Calv. Epist. Melanc. to Calvin, p. 92: to Bullinger, p. 108. Bucer indeed was dead before this time: but his sentiments, publicly pronounced, and in terrible language, concerning the desert of Servetus, are cited, ib. 70 (b).—Bullinger, who also cites Urban Regius and the divines of Luneburg, ib. 90.—Farel, ib. 71.—Martyr, ib. 92 (b.)

[2] "Martini Bellii Dissertatio, qua disputatur quo jure, quove fructu, hæretici sunt coercendi vel gladio puniendi."

[3] Beza in vit. Calv. anno 1554.

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enough and widely enough to subvert and eradicate. They had received these notions "by tradition from their fathers," and as yet saw not how inconsistent they were with the great principles for which they were themselves contending. In the words of the sensible author of the "Memoirs of Literature," "The doctrine of non-toleration, which obtained in the sixteeenth century among some protestants, was that pernicious error which they imbibed in the church of Rome: and I believe I can say, without doing any injury to that church, that she is *in great measure answerable for the execution of Servetus*."[1] With that church persecution is the rule and principle: and at this very time, as we have seen, she was acting extensively upon it; with protestants it is the exception, and a deviation, a lamentable deviation indeed, from their principles.—It may be easy for very ordinary persons in the present age to discern the fallacy of the reasonings by which such men as Calvin and Beza, Melancthon and Bullinger were imposed upon three hundred years ago; and it may be unspeakably easier still for shallow sceptics, who have never thought religious truth worth investigation, to express contempt and feel hatred for men who have regarded the perversion of its essential principles as poisoning the souls of men; and to stand aghast with horror at some solitary instance in which a person of this cast has imitated atrocities, which are viewed with comparative indifference when perpetrated on a wholesale scale by others:[2] but those who really believe the

Superficial or malignant censurers.

[1] Quoted in "Biographia Evangelica," ii. 42.

[2] In what rant and extravagance some *philosophers*, who are ready enough to fritter away if not to apologise for the enormities of pagan or of papal persecution, can indulge when a man like Calvin, and through him, as they hope, the

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scriptures must still feel, that even the worst reformation, and ultimately Christianity itself may be wounded, is strikingly illustrated on this occasion in the persons of Roscoe and Gibbon. The former, forgetful of "the long reign and truculent deeds of the inquisition," and of the "myriads of instances of persecution by the Romanists, most of which surpassed in cruelty the case before us," gravely pronounces, "The annals of persecution cannot furnish a more atrocious instance of bigotry and cruelty, than the burning of Servetus in a protestant city, and *by protestant priests.*" (Roscoe's Leo X. See Christian Observer for 1805, p. 616—619.) The latter, deliberately taking into view the whole diabolical system of the inquisition, and its myriads of victims, hesitates not to declare, "I am more deeply scandalized at the single execution of Servetus, than at the hecatombs which have blazed in the Auto da Fés of Spain and Portugal." And then he proceeds to repeat, as undoubted verities, the calumnies of Calvin's zeal having been "envenomed by personal malice, and perhaps envy;" and of his having "accused his adversary before their common enemies, the judges of Vienne, and betrayed, for his destruction, the sacred trust of private correspondence." Have we not here a striking instance of *an unbeliever's wishes* making him *weakly credulous?* Gibbon, close of c. liv. See above, p. *55,* note. Is it not with justice that it has been surmised, that philosophers who, not only iniquitously resolve to try men of the sixteenth century by rules and principles scarcely admitted before the eighteenth, but greedily receive every calumny or insinuation that "false witnesses" can utter against them, and indulge in the most extravagant invectives in setting forth their misdeeds, had they themselves happened to live three centuries back, would not have been content to smite only with the tongue or the pen, but would eagerly have grasped the sword or the torch?—Not one word is intended to be offered in apology for persecution when it is affirmed, that, instead of Servetus's case being one of the most atrocious that the annals of bigotry can exhibit, it would be difficult to point out another, where either the errors and the behaviour of the accused were so atrocious, or the advantages of a fair hearing so fully granted to him. The pains taken to reclaim the unhappy man—the time allowed him—the submission of all papers and documents to him, with such books as he desired,—the reference, on *his* appeal, to other churches: where else almost are these proceedings to be paralleled? Yet not only Calvin's assertions, but official documents confirm the facts.—*In Chauffepié, to whom Gibbon specially refers, I find only confirmation of the account given of Servetus's case.*

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errors which such men have detected in the zealous assertors of divine truth have been but as "motes in their eyes," compared with "the beam" which utterly obstructs the spiritual vision of these their accusers and calumniators. [1]

Calvin's discipline brought into jeopardy. Case of Bertelier. 1553.

At the same time that the affair of Servetus was in progress Calvin had to encounter new and more artful attempts of the libertine faction. Philibert Bertelier, a citizen of Geneva, and registrar of one of the inferior courts of justice there, [2] had on account of his flagitious life been excluded by the consistory from the sacrament of the Lord's supper. Piqued by this disgrace, prompted by Perrin, and supported by the disaffected party at large, [3] he applied to the senate, or lesser council, demanding absolution by their authority. As any attempt to comply with such a demand would obviously have been subversive of the established discipline, and indeed of all church order, Calvin on behalf of the whole consistory strenuously opposed it. Such however was the

[1] Another striking proof how much persecution was the error of the age, and confined to no one class of persons, may be drawn from the case of one of the fathers of what is improperly called Unitarianism. Faustus Socinus and Francis David, the superintendent of the Socinian churches in Transylvania, both held in common that Christ was a mere man. Socinus however was still in favour of praying to him, because to do otherwise would expose their sect to odium; while David, much more consistently, disapproved that practice. The difference was immensely less than that between Calvin and Servetus: yet David, having disputed with Socinus on the point, died in prison in consequence of his opinion, and his alleged indiscreet propagation of it from the pulpit. Had David differed as much from Socinus as Servetus did from Calvin, and had the magistrates been willing to burn the former for his error, would Socinus have refused his concurrence?—Maclaine's Mosheim, Index, *Davides*.

[2] Bayle.

[3] Calv. Epist. p. 75 (b).

cry raised against the 'usurpations of the church,' that, on the question being brought before the grand council of two hundred, that body passed a resolution, that the final decision on all cases of excommunication should be vested in the senate: and from the senate Bertelier actually obtained letters of absolution, though the same body had previously, after examination of the case, pronounced him justly excommunicated.[1] This fact clearly demonstrates how far Calvin was from dictating, at his pleasure, all the measures of the government of Geneva which related to religion. Such a consummation, as they flattered themselves it must prove, was hailed by Perrin and all the enemies of Calvin as a complete triumph. He must sink, they concluded, under senatorian authority and popular tumult combined together, should he venture to resist: and, if he yielded, the abhorred discipline, and with it the chief restraint upon the vicious, was at an end. Nor was time allowed for deliberation; much less for arranging measures to parry or evade the blow. It wanted only two days to the appointed celebration of the sacrament on the third of September. The resolution however of Calvin was taken, and he was not to be daunted.[2] He first procured the senate to be called together, stated his views and his determination, and endeavoured, but in vain, to induce them to revoke their indulgence granted to Bertelier. But receiving for answer, that "the senate changed nothing in their former decision," he, in preaching on the Sunday morning previously to the administration, in a solemn tone and with uplifted hand uttered severe denun-

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[1] Calv. Vireto. Epist. p. 74.

[2] "He was frighted at nothing." Bayle.

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ciations against profaners of the holy mysteries: "and for my own part," said he, "after the example of Chrysostom, I avow that I will suffer myself to be slain at the table, rather than allow this hand to deliver the sacred symbols of the Lord's body and blood to adjudged despisers of God." This was uttered with such authority and produced such an effect, that Perrin himself immediately whispered to Bertelier that he must not present himself as a communicant. He accordingly withdrew: and the sacred ordinance, says Beza, "was celebrated with a profound silence, and under a solemn awe in all present, as if the Deity himself had been visible among them." Still the decree had passed which laid the axe to the root of what Calvin esteemed the rightful, as well as established authority of the church. It did not therefore satisfy him to have succeeded in excluding Bertelier on the present occasion: but, in his sermon in the afternoon of the same day, taking for his subject the farewell address of S. Paul to the elders of Ephesus, (Acts xx,) he adverted to the existing state of things; and protesting, "I am not the man who will either myself resist rulers or teach others to do so;" and exhorting the people to persevere steadfastly in the doctrine they had been taught; he added: "And now, brethren, since affairs have come to that pass that I can no longer serve with advantage to you, or so as to maintain my own principles, let me bid you farewell, and say with the apostle, *I commend you to God and to the word of his grace.*"[1] Even the profligate, we are told,

[1] The discourse it seems was taken down by a notary, translated by Beza, and sent to Bullinger, without any revision by Calvin. Epist. p. 78 (b).

were struck dumb by his address, while the good were confirmed and admonished of their duty: and so much did Calvin feel that he had gained by the proceedings of the sabbath, that the next day, accompanied by his colleagues and the whole consistory, he proceeded to demand of the senate and the grand council that laws, established as those of the ecclesiastical regimen had been by the whole people duly assembled, should be abrogated or altered by no inferior authority. The consequence was, that the decree of the council was suspended; it was resolved on the proposal of Perrin and his party, to consult the other reformed states of Switzerland, where the power of excommunication was not vested in the consistories; and, their answers being received, the polity and discipline were again confirmed by the common suffrages of the citizens, to the utter disappointment and confusion of the malcontent faction.[1]

A. D. 1553.

Triumphant issue for Calvin.

Dec. 15.

1554. Jan.

Before this final decision however the storm, which was averted from the head of Calvin, threatened to fall on that of Farel. Early in this year that reformer had been visited at Neuchâtel, under a dangerous illness, by Calvin; who left him apparently in dying circumstances. Beyond expectation he recovered: and, returning his friend's visit at Geneva, he used that freedom, to which by his age, his character,

Accusation of Farel.

March.

[1] Beza. Spon, i, 297. Calv. Epist. p. 74—78, where we have the correspondence of Calvin with Viret, Bullinger, and others on the subject; the substance of the answer of the senate of Zuric; and the rules of discipline at Geneva. "The consistory," which consisted of six pastors and twelve laymen, members of the council, exercised no civil jurisdiction, but only censures from the word of God. Simple excommunication was the extreme punishment it could inflict." Epist. p. 75 (b).

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his former connexion with the city, and the eminent services he had rendered its inhabitants, he was well entitled,[1] in animadverting unreservedly on the evils which prevailed among them. This was now made the subject of accusation against him, and he was summoned from Neuchâtel to answer the charge.[2] He accordingly appeared at Geneva, though not without personal danger; as the factious citizens clamoured, that, according to their summary mode of punishment, he should be thrown from the bridge into the Rhone. Protectors however were raised up to defend him against such a danger, and to rescue the city from such a disgrace. Perrin himself was warned to beware how he inflicted any evil on "the common parent of the citizens:" and so decided was the general feeling in his favour that his accusers became anxious for their own safety, and were ready to move for his acquittal. Thus was God's faithful servant brought off with honour, and the sentence strikingly illustrated, "When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him."[3]

His acquittal.

"Thus," observes Beza, "was this whole year spent in contending either for sound doctrine[4] or for wholesome discipline—and with a prosperous issue on all sides, save for the

[1] "The people *owe their own selves* to him... He is to be regarded as the father of their liberties, and the father of this church." Calv. Epist. p. 76 (a).

[2] "Capitale judicium"—"a capital charge!" Calv. ibid.

[3] Beza. Calv. Epist. p. 76 (a), where, under the date of Nov. 26, Calvin relates the proceedings against Farel with just feelings of shame and indignation. The senate demanded his appearance from Neuchâtel, and when he arrived enjoined Calvin not to allow him to preach.

[4] Against Servetus.

wound which not England alone but all Christian churches suffered in the premature death of that most pious prince, king Edward VI."[1]—This year also, he adds, Calvin published his excellent commentaries on S. John. He dedicated them to the senate in an epistle which alludes to passing events. A. D. 1553.

The transaction we have related, to which Bertelier gave occasion, and indeed the whole of Calvin's proceedings for the establishment of his discipline after his recall to Geneva in the year 1541, are very keenly, in some points rather too keenly, reviewed by Hooker in continuation of the passage above cited from him. The criticism of such a writer is so much entitled to attention, and to the English reader in particular it must be so interesting, that on these accounts, as well as for the sake of the information it contains and the remarks for which it appears to call, I shall once more venture on a quotation of some length. Hooker's review of these proceedings.

On his return "to his old home," says the illustrious champion of our ecclesiastical polity, "Calvin ripely considered how gross a thing it were for men of his quality, wise and grave men, to live with such a multitude, and to be tenants at will under them; as their ministers, both himself and others, had been. For the remedy of which inconvenience, he gave them plainly to understand, that, if he did become their teacher again, they must be content to admit a complete form of discipline, which both they and also their pastors should now be solemnly sworn to observe for ever after. Of which discipline the main and principal parts were these: a standing ecclesiastical court to Calvin's Discipline.

[1] To the same purport, Calv. Ep. 70 (a).

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be established; perpetual judges in that court to be their ministers; others of the people to be annually chosen (twice so many in number as they,) to be judges together with them in the same court. These two sorts to have the care of all men's manners, power of determining of all kind of ecclesiastical causes, and authority to convent, to control, to punish, as far as with excommunication, whomsoever they should think worthy, none either small or great excepted. This device I see not how the wisest at that time living could have bettered, if we duly consider what the present state of Geneva did then require. For, their bishop and his clergy being (as it is said,) departed from them by moon-light, or howsoever being departed, to choose in his room any other bishop had been a thing altogether impossible. And for their ministers to seek that themselves alone might have coercive power over the whole church, would perhaps have been hardly construed at that time. But, when so frank an offer was made, that for every one minister there should be two of the people to sit and give voice in the ecclesiastical consistory, what inconvenience could they easily find which themselves might not be able always to remedy? Howbeit (as evermore the simpler sort are, even when they see no apparent cause, jealous, notwithstanding, over the secret intents and purposes of wiser men,) this proposition of his did somewhat trouble them. Of the ministers themselves which had staid behind in the city when Calvin was gone, some, upon knowledge of the people's earnest intent to recall him to his place again, had beforehand written their letters of submission, and assured him of their allegiance for ever after, if it should like him to hearken

Remarks on it.

unto that public suit.[1] But yet, misdoubting what might happen if this discipline did go forward, they objected against it the example of other reformed churches, living quietly and orderly without it. Some of the chiefest place and countenance amongst the laity professed, with greater stomach, their judgments that such a discipline was little better than popish tyranny disguised, and tendered unto them under a new form. This sort, it may be, had some fear that the filling up of the seats in the consistory with so great a number of laymen was but to please the minds of the people, to the end they might think their own sway somewhat; but, when things came to trial of practice, their pastors' learning would be at all times of force to over-persuade simple men, who, knowing the time of their own presidentship to be but short, would always stand in fear of their ministers' perpetual authority. And among the ministers themselves, one being so far in estimation above the rest, the voices of the rest were likely to be given for the most part respectively, with a kind of secret dependency and awe: so that, in shew, a marvellous indifferently[2] composed senate ecclesiastical was to govern, but in effect one only man should, as the spirit and soul of the residue, do all in all. But what did these vain surmises boot? Brought they were now to so strait an issue, that of two things they must choose one: namely, whether they would, to their endless disgrace, with ridiculous lightness, dismiss him whose restitution they had in so importunate a manner desired, or else con-

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[1] "Submission—allegiance." The words are somewhat invidious—insinuating an assumption of kingly rule.—He alludes to James Bernard: Calv. Epist. p. 12, 260. See above, p. 358, 365.

[2] Impartially.

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descend unto that demand wherein he was resolute either to have it or to leave them. They thought it better to be somewhat hardly yoked at home, than for ever abroad discredited. Wherefore in the end those orders were on all sides assented unto, with no less alacrity of mind than cities, unable to hold out longer, are wont to shew when they take conditions, such as liketh him to offer them which hath them in the narrow straits of advantage. Not many years were overpast before these twice-sworn men adventured to give their last and hottest assault to the fortress of the same discipline, childishly granting by common consent of their whole senate, and that under their town-seal, a relaxation to one Bertelier, whom the eldership had excommunicated: further also decreeing, with strange absurdity, that to the same senate it should belong to give final judgment in matter of excommunication, and to absolve whom it pleased them—clean contrary to their own former deeds and oaths. The report of which decree being forthwith brought unto Calvin, 'Before,' saith he, 'this decree take place, either my blood or banishment shall sign it.' Again, two days before the communion should be celebrated, this speech was publicly to like effect: 'Kill me, if ever this hand do reach forth the things that are holy to them whom the church hath judged despisers.'[1] Where-

[1] I understand Beza's words to mean, that Bertelier's relaxation was obtained, at least that Calvin received information of it, only "two days" before the sacrament: and that Calvin's sermon, and Perrin's advice suggested by it, immediately preceded the administration. "At Calvinus, quamvis biduo duntaxat ante cœnam dominicam, mense Sept. de more celebrandam, de hoc facto commonefactus &c.... Hac voce (mirum dictu,) tantum potuit apud *illos*, quamvis effrænos, ut Perrinus *statim clanculum* Bertelio mandaret, *ne ad mensam accederet*, sintque mysteria... miro silentio celebrata."

upon, for fear of tumult, the fore-named Bertelier was by his friends advised for that time not to use the liberty granted him by the senate, nor to present himself in the church till they saw somewhat further what would ensue. After the communion quietly ministered, and some likelihood of peaceable ending of these troubles, without any more ado, that very day in the afternoon, besides all men's expectation, concluding his ordinary sermon, he telleth them that, because he neither had learned nor taught to strive with such as are in authority, 'therefore,' saith he, 'the case so standing as now it doth, let me use these words of the Apostle unto you, *I commend you unto God and the word of his grace;*' and so bade them heartily adieu. It sometimes cometh to pass, that the readiest way which a wise man hath to conquer is to fly. This voluntary and unexpected mention of sudden departure caused presently the senate (for, according to their wonted manner, they still continued only constant in inconstancy,) to gather themselves together, and for a time to suspend their own decree, leaving things to proceed as before, till they had heard the judgment of four Helvetian cities concerning the matter which was in strife. This to have done at the first, before they gave any assent unto any order, had shewed some wit and discretion in them; but now to do it was as much as to say, in effect, that they would play their parts on a stage. Calvin therefore despatcheth with all expedition his letters unto some principal pastor in every of those cities, craving earnestly at their hands, to respect this cause as a thing whereupon the whole state of religion and piety in that church did so much depend, that God and all good men

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were now inevitably certain to be trampled under foot, unless those four cities, by their good means, might be brought to give sentence with the ministers of Geneva when the cause should be brought before them; yea, so to give it that two things it might effectually contain: the one an absolute approbation of the discipline of Geneva as consonant unto the word of God, without any cautions, qualifications, ifs, or ands; the other, an earnest admonition not to innovate or change the same. His vehement request, herein as touching both points was satisfied. For, albeit the said Helvetian churches did never as yet observe that discipline, nevertheless, the senate of Geneva having required their judgment concerning these three questions: 'first, After what manner, by God's commandment, according to the scripture and unspotted religion, excommunication is to be exercised? secondly, Whether it may not be exercised some other way than by the consistory? thirdly, What the use of their churches was to do in this case?' answer was returned from the said churches, 'That they had heard already of those consistorial laws, and did acknowledge them to be godly ordinances drawing towards the prescript of the word of God: for which cause they did not think it good for the church of Geneva by innovation to change the same, but rather to keep them as they were.' Which answer, although not answering unto the former demands, but respecting what Mr. Calvin had judged requisite for them to answer, was notwithstanding accepted without any further reply; in as much as they plainly saw, that *when stomach doth strive with wit the match is not equal:* and so

the heat of their former contentions began to slake." [1] A. D. 1553.

The remarks which appear to me to be called for by this passage are the four following. Remarks on Hooker's statements.

1. We again observe with some surprise the extent to which Hooker carries his concession in favour of Calvin's polity. Many, at least, would not have expected to read here the sentence, "This device I see not how the wisest at that time living could have bettered, if we duly consider what the present state of Geneva did then require." 1. His candour.

2. The statement here made does not sufficiently bring into view the character of the party who were engaged in contending against Calvin. The reader is led to consider the contest as differing little from the controversy in which Hooker himself was engaged, namely, a resistance to the imposition of the presbyterian form of government, or at least to that and the exercise of discipline which had, at Geneva, been connected with it. This is a representation into which it was very natural for Hooker, even unperceived by himself, to slide, considering the view with which he was writing. It was, in fact, only as they bore upon Calvin's church polity that he had to do with the conflicts carried on at Geneva. Such however is but a very imperfect view of the case; and in many respects it gives an erroneous impression. It was indeed, on Calvin's part, a contest in support of the system of ecclesiastical government which he had devised and procured to be established, but it was maintained, not against the adherents of episcopacy or some other form opposed to his, but against a licentious profligate party, who cared neither for one form nor 2. The party opposed to Calvin.

[1] Eccl. Pol. Præf. § 2.

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another, but sought to be permitted to live without restraint according to their own lawless inclinations. In this representation I think all writers of repute agree, and we shall shortly see further proof of its correctness.[1]

3. Means by which Calvin triumphed.

3. It will have been seen that that part of Calvin's conduct by which he completely baffled his enemies, and for the time nullified the senate's letters of absolution granted to Bertelier, and then avowed his intention of quitting Geneva unless the late measures should be recalled—all which has appeared in our pages as masterly, noble, and heroic behaviour—is by Hooker considered as little more than trick and management; and is dismissed with the remark, "It sometimes cometh to pass, that the readiest way which a wise man hath to conquer is to fly." Which of the two representations is the just one must depend upon Calvin's sincerity in what he did. Did Calvin act upon principle in establishing and maintaining his discipline, or had he only some selfish end in view? I feel persuaded that Hooker,

[1] Few writers speak more strongly on this point than Bayle. Of Bertelier he says, "He made himself to be taken notice of only by his ill actions: but, because he committed one that pleased the controvertists much, since it supplied them with ample matter to defame Calvin's memory, he gave occasion to be quoted as a man of note..... He was an ill liver, against whom a sentence of death was pronounced." What should have induced a writer of Bayle's principles to undertake, and so successfully as he has done in many instances, the defence of the reformers against the slanders cast upon them, I am at a loss to determine, unless it be that, as the writer of a "Historical and Critical Dictionary," he felt an offence against historic truth as an offence against himself. His acquaintance also with the history of the reformers appears to have been most minute. Yet his sceptical or infidel notions are well known, and the impurity, which is often associated with such tenets, continually stains his pages.

with the high veneration which he has expressed for Calvin's memory, would never assert the latter. And then, did he really mean to adhere to what he professed, and to take his departure in case his enemies, and the enemies of all order, were allowed, under the sanction of the council, to triumph over him? or were all his threats to do this a mere piece of tragical acting? The nature of the case, particularly considered in connexion with Calvin's character, may I think go far to determine this question. But, in addition to that, I find that, on the granting of absolution to Bertelier by the senate, after every other means to influence them, he had solemnly declared to them, as he afterwards did from the pulpit, and had confirmed his declaration with an oath, that his mind was made up rather to suffer death than thus to profane the sacrament:[1] and, with respect to quitting Geneva, he in various letters to his friends at a distance expresses his deliberate and full determination to do it, in case the present measures were persisted in.[2] A. D. 1553.

4. My last observation relates to the communications held with the other reformed states of Switzerland on this occasion. Calvin unquestionably wrote privately to some principal person in most, perhaps in each of those states: and who would not in similar circumstances have done the same? Who that had such friends as Bullinger at Zuric, Myconius at Basle, and Megander at Berne, would have left every thing in such a case to the official communication of a government, which had already once taken part with his enemies rather than with himself, without attempting through the 4. His correspondence with the other churches.

[1] Epist. p. 74-5. [2] Epist. p. 74-5, 75 (b), 78-9, &c.

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medium of these friends to throw in some further information upon the subject? Every thing was at stake with him and, according to his view at least, with the church of Geneva.[1] There is truth also in the statement, that the answers of the cities consulted seemed to be returned rather to Calvin's letters than to the questions specifically proposed to them: but the representation is considerably overcharged, that he called upon his friends to procure "an absolute approbation of the discipline of Geneva as consonant unto the word of God, without any cautions, qualifications, ifs, or ands." The words of Calvin to Bullinger seem to be specially alluded to: "The object is briefly this, that your senate should answer, that the form we have hitherto followed is agreeable to the word of God, and should disapprove innovation..... If they will do this without all ambiguity, the repose of our church may be secured for a long time to come."[2] To the ministers of Zuric at large he says, "If it shall appear to you, that there is nothing in our regimen which is not consonant to the pure doctrine of Christ, I beg you to use your endeavour that your senate may concur in such a declaration."[3] And Bullinger reports the answer actually agreed to as to this effect, and as accompanied with a recommendation to the Genevese "to adhere to what had been once received among them."[4]

The Libertine party ruin their own cause.

We now proceed with the sequel of the story. By some subsequent proceedings the libertine faction finally ruined their own cause, and to a great degree relieved the city for the

[1] "De toto hujus ecclesiæ statu consultationem haberi." Calv. Ep. 75 (b).

[2] Epist. p. 75 (a). [3] Ibid (b). [4] Ib. 78 (a).

future from the trouble which they had long occasioned. Geneva, as has been already hinted, partly from the civil and religious liberty there to be enjoyed by the professors of the reformed faith, and partly from the fame of Calvin, became the favourite resort of great numbers, who, from persecution, or on other grounds connected with religion, withdrew from their respective countries. Especially this was the case with the French protestants. The government found it advantageous to admit many of these to the privilege of the bourgeoisie, through which they found access also to the councils. Thus the state was strengthened by persons of respectability and intelligence. It raised however the jealousy of the disaffected to see foreigners thus share the privileges of citizenship, and perhaps (as their merits entitled them,) introduced to rank and office before themselves. Most also of these persons having come to Geneva with a strong prepossession in favour of Calvin, and having now profited by his ministry and by other services received from him, greatly strengthened his hands: which rendered them still more obnoxious to those who desired nothing so much as to overthrow and trample under foot the system of restraint which he had established. Incited by feelings of this kind, and defeated in their attempts to induce the government to change its policy, these persons now became desperate, and entered into a conspiracy to massacre the refugees, particularly those of the French nation: and, under the leading of Perrin and Peter Vandel, (names which we with pain recollect as among the early promoters of reformation,[1]) they raised a violent sedition for this

A. D. 1554.

Numerous refugees.

1555.

May 15.

[1] Spon, i. 215, 6.

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purpose. Bertelier also bore his part in it. The rash and wicked attempt, as might have been anticipated, failed of success, and the leaders in consequence fled. Several others, Aug. 6. the next in criminality, suffered death, and Perrin, Vandel, and Bertelier were, in their absence sentenced to lose their heads, with other circumstances of severity supposed to be proportionate to their respective degrees of guilt: and, their persons being out of reach, the several sentences were executed on their effigies.[1]

Galeazzo Caraccioli, marquis of Vico.

Among the number of the refugees above referred to, one stood so much distinguished by his rank, his character, his eventful history, and his friendship with Calvin, as well to deserve particular mention. This was Galeazzo Caraccioli, eldest son of the marquis of Vico, (one of the grandees of Naples,) and by his mother's side nephew to pope Paul IV.[2] His history has been so well sketched by Dr. M'Crie,[3] that I cannot do better than avail myself of his labours. At the age of twenty, Galeazzo married Vittoria, daughter to the duke of Nuceria, who brought him a large fortune, and bore him six children. He was called to attendance upon the emperor Charles V, who had been under obligations to his family; and "his personal accomplishments, the uniform correctness of his manners, his affability, and the talents he discovered for public business, led all who

[1] Beza. Spon, i. 296—300. Calv. Epist. p. 76 (a), and 101—103, where, under the date of June 15, 1555, he gives a full account to Bullinger, and represents in a strong light the influence which Perrin had obtained as a demagogue, speaking of the ecclesiastical discipline as the last remaining check upon his power. [2] Caraffa. See vol. ii. 91.

[3] Ref. in Spain, p. 352—359: from his life by Nic. Balbini, Giannone, Gerdes. Ital. Reform. Spon, i. 290, &c.

knew him to anticipate his gradual and certain advancement in worldly honours. Serious impressions, accompanied with a conviction of the errors of the church of Rome, were made on his mind by Valdes and (Peter) Martyr, at the time that the protestant tenets were secretly embraced by many individuals in Naples; and his religious dispositions were cherished by the advices of that pious and elegant scholar, Marc-Antonio Flaminio." Intercourse with the protestants of Germany still further deepened the impressions he had received: and after his return to Naples, having in consequence of the severe measures lately resorted to against all who deviated from the established religion, failed in his attempts to induce such of his countrymen as held the same views with himself to meet together in private for their mutual edification, he at length arrived at the painful conviction that it was his duty to leave father, and wife, and children, since he could induce none of them to join him, as well as houses and lands, for Christ's sake and the gospel's. "The sacrifice of his secular dignities and possessions did not cost him a sigh; but, as often as he reflected on the distress which his departure would inflict on his aged father,... on his wife whom he loved and by whom he was loved tenderly, and on the dear pledges of their union, he was thrown into a state of unutterable anguish, and started back with horror from the resolution to which conscience had brought him. At length, by a heroic effort of zeal,... he came to the determination of bursting the tenderest ties which perhaps ever bound man to country and kindred." Availing himself therefore of the pretext of public business which he had to transact with the emperor,

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1551. June.

he set out for Augsburg, whence he speedily repaired to Geneva. He was in consequence deprived of all the property which he inherited from his mother. Repeatedly, at the risk of his life, he ventured into Italy to meet his father: but he was never permitted to see his family, though he incurred the same danger for that object also, till after seven years' voluntary exile. The account of this meeting and of the final parting by which it was followed is deeply affecting. He intreated his wife to accompany him to Geneva, promising her the free exercise of her religion under his roof. But "her confessor had inculcated upon her that it was a damnable sin to cohabit with a heretic," and after many protestations of affection she finally replied, that she could not reside in a place where any other religion than that of the church of Rome was professed, nor live with him as her husband so long as he was infected with heresy. On taking leave of his father he was dismissed "with reproaches and curses." "On quitting his father's apartment he had to undergo a still severer trial of his sensibility. He found his wife and children, with a number of his friends waiting for him in the hall. Bursting into tears, and embracing her husband, Vittoria besought him not to leave her a widow, and her babes fatherless. The children joined in the entreaties of their mother; and the eldest daughter, a fine girl of thirteen, grasping his knees, refused to part with him. How he disengaged himself he knew not; for the first thing which brought him to recollection was the noise made by the sailors on reaching the opposite shore of the Gulf of Venice." The scene, he declared, long haunted his mind both in dreams by night and reveries by day. He

ever enjoyed the highest respect at Geneva, where the freedom of the city was conferred upon him, a house was allotted to him by the public, and he was admitted a member both of the great and small council. After he had remained nine years in exile without any hope of enjoying the society of his family, except on the condition of renouncing his religion, he took a step respecting which, though no one perhaps has any right to condemn it,[1] "we feel," according to the remark of Dr. M'Crie, "as if it detracted" somewhat "from the high unsullied virtue which he had hitherto displayed," and which "gave occasion of reproach to the keen adversaries of the reformation." "He consulted Calvin on the propriety of contracting a second marriage. That reformer, who took a deep interest in the character of his noble friend, felt great scruples as to the expediency of this step, but ultimately gave his approbation to it, after he had consulted the divines of Switzerland and the Grisons. Accordingly, the courts of Geneva having legally pronounced a sentence of divorce against Vittoria, on the ground of her obstinate refusal to live with her husband, he married Anne Fremijere, the widow of a French refugee from Rouen, with whom he continued to live happily in a state of dignified frugality." Having narrowly escaped being involved in the massacre of S. Bartholomew's day at Paris, he continued to reside, with but little interruption, at Geneva till his death, which happened in 1586, in the sixty eighth year of his age.

A. D. 1555.

But to return to Calvin. In the manner that we have above seen, he was henceforward in great measure delivered from the persecution of

Controversies in which Calvin was engaged.

[1] See 1 Cor. vii. 15.

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1554. the libertines. Still however he wanted neither services to occupy, nor errors and disorders to trouble him. The predestinarian controversy was revived or still carried on by Bolsec and

1557. Castellio, who were supported by some ministers of the neighbourhood, and still urged against him the charge of "making God the author of sin, because," says Beza, "he taught that nothing is excepted from the eternal providence and appointment of God."[1] This carried him to Berne to explain and defend his doctrine there, where symptoms had before appeared of a disinclination to admit it.[2] The result was, that both his opponents were henceforward excluded, as one of them had already been, from that Canton.[3] Now also he had to encounter Westphal on the sacramental question.[4] The persecutions both of France and England greatly

[1] So the church of Geneva before state, that Bolsec denied that the afflictions of Job could in any sense be called the work of God, without implicating him with the Chaldeans, the Sabeans, and Satan himself. Calv. Epist. 64 (b). Those who carry their jealousies and objections so far as this can only prejudice the cause they support, because they deny what every page of scripture teaches, and every pious mind devoutly acknowledges. We cannot too much abhor whatever would in any proper sense of the word refer sin to God as its author: but we may from these instances learn, that many sentiments may be rashly charged with doing so, which do it not. We all acknowledge that 'God's never-failing providence ordereth all things in heaven and earth.' Wo unto us if it were not so! But this, according to Bolsec, is a proposition big with the greatest impieties!

[2] Above, and Calv. Ep. p. 409.

[3] Above, p. 408. Andrew Zebedee, Calvin's bitterest accuser on this occasion, we are told, retracted his errors on his death-bed, after Calvin's decease, and caused all his own papers to be burned before his eyes: which was "better," observes Beza, "than their being so treated in pursuance of a thousand decrees of the senate."

[4] Vol. ii. 110.

distressed him.[1] Respecting the former, many of his letters testify the pains he was ever ready to take in behalf of his suffering countrymen.[2] The discords of the English refugees at Francfort and other places one with another, chiefly respecting ceremonies, called forth his zealous endeavours to restore peace among them.[3]

A. D. 1555.

[1] This year "drove away to heaven, along with innumerable others in England, those three bishops and martyrs of unrivalled piety, Hooper, Ridley, and Latimer, and at length the great Cranmer.... Five noble martyrs also were burned at Cambray." *Beza.*

[2] Epist. p. 6, 122—124, 125—134, 137—139.

[3] On this occasion, 18 Jan. 1555, he wrote his well-known letter "to the English at Francfort," in which he speaks of the "tolerabiles ineptias" of the English Liturgy. I shall insert a considerable part of it. "It is in my judgment very unseasonable," he tells them, "that, when torne from your country and in so afflicted a condition, you should fall into dispute, as if you were quite at your ease and enjoying yourselves, concerning ceremonies and a formulary of prayer.... For my part, as in things indifferent (mediis), such as external rites are, I am very easy and accommodating, so I do not hold it useful always to yield to the foolish obstinacy of those who will give up nothing to which they have been accustomed. In the English liturgy, as you describe it, I perceive that there have been many tolerable follies (tolerabiles ineptias): by which words I mean, that there has not been that purity in it which was to be desired. As however they involved no manifest impiety, and could not be immediately corrected, they might be borne for a time. Proceeding therefore from such rudiments, it was fit that grave and upright and learned ministers of Christ should press forward, and aspire at somewhat more pure and perfect. If true religion had continued to flourish in England, something might have been improved, and many things withdrawn. But now, when the foundations have there been overthrown, and you had to institute for yourselves a church elsewhere, and were at liberty to adopt a form such as seemed best adapted to the benefit and edification of the church, I know not what they mean who so much delight themselves with the remains of the popish dregs. They love what they are accustomed to. But this is childish and trifling: and it is to be considered that forming a new institution differs from

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He at the same time carried on an extensive correspondence with well-disposed and influential persons in Poland, (including even the king himself,) for the purpose of promoting a satisfactory settlement of the affairs of religion in that country.[1]

Antitrinitarians.

But that which gave most pain to Calvin at this period, as more nearly affecting his own immediate sphere of labour, was the rise of a number of persons in the Italian church at Geneva, as from the ashes of Servetus, infected with antitrinitarian errors, and aiming in different ways to spread their heretical tenets. The names of Alciati, a military officer from Milan,[2] Blandrata, a physician, from Piemont, Matthew Gribaldo, an eminent lawyer who had taken up his residence at Fargias, a villa in the neighbouring district of Gex, and Valentine Gentilis, a native of Cosenza in Calabria, attained a bad eminence in this line. Most of these heretical persons were driven from Switzerland, and

changing an old one. 'As I would have you, if the infirmity of some cannot rise to the highest degree [of improvement], to avoid excessive rigidity, so I would admonish others not to be too well pleased with their own want of proficiency and not to obstruct the progress of the church by their obstinacy. Nor let a foolish rivalry (or jealousy) hurry them away: for what cause have they for contention but a shame of yielding to their betters? But they will probably give no heed to counsel proceeding from me." Epist. p. 98. Many things have since been changed in our liturgy.—The next letter purports in its title to be addressed "to Knox and his associates," at the same place: but the contents evince that it was written to an opponent of the Scotch reformer; and we ought, no doubt, for *Knox* to read *Cox*, a divine who had been preceptor to Edward VI. See M'Crie's Life of Knox, i. 161. The advocates for further reform were obliged to leave Francfort, and they removed to Geneva.

[1] Epist. p. 85—88, 99, 104, 106.

[2] Or from Piemont. Annotat. on Spon, from his examination taken at Geneva.

thence migrated into Moravia, Poland, and Transylvania; where they diffused the poison of their doctrines—doctrines founded, as Beza remarks, "on a refusal to submit to the dictates of divine wisdom, and a determination rather to be guided by human reason." Gentilis returning after Calvin's death proposed a public disputation with the orthodox, on terms which shew the temper and sentiments of the times, namely, "that the party who could not prove their doctrines from the word of God should be put to death as impostors!" But, having lost his patron Gribaldo by death, he himself was seized, and, on conviction, beheaded at Berne for having obstinately and contrary to his oath (for he had repeatedly and explicitly retracted before), impugned the mystery of the Sacred Trinity. [1]

A.D. 1557.

(1667.)

Protestant Mission in South America.

A letter of this period, preserved in Calvin's correspondence, connects his name with, I presume, the very earliest attempt made to establish any thing like a protestant mission in the heathen world. That the reformers should not at this early period have engaged in missions for the propagation of the Christian faith in new regions, even had the subject been brought distinctly before them,

[1] Calvin had lived in strict friendship with Celso Massimiliano, or Martinengo, the principal pastor of the Italian congregation, from his appointment (at the instance of Galeazzo Caraccioli,) in 1553 to his decease in 1557: and to his care Martinengo had commended the church on his death-bed, conjuring him to provide against the arts of these heretical members. Calvin accordingly exerted himself for this end in concert with the surviving pastor Lattantio Rignoni; and he, in 1558, drew up for the congregation a confession of faith, which was subscribed by them all, and among them by Gentilis "under the pain of perjury if he should afterwards contradict it." M'Crie's Spain, 360—362.

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can hardly excite surprise when their circumstances are considered. They might not improperly be regarded as missionaries themselves, labouring, though not in the midst of a heathen, yet, they were too well assured, in the midst of an idolatrous population. They were at present too much engaged in contending for existence at home, to turn their thoughts to conquests abroad: and in general they could not find ministers to supply the demand on the spot, so far from having them to spare for distant stations. But the letter to which I refer implies an attempt of the kind, which I confess would have puzzled me but for the light which I have found thrown on it from another quarter. The letter is from P. Richerius, and is dated "from Gallia Antarctica, 31 March, 1557."[1] This Antarctic Gaul, it appears, was the coast of Brazil, where the writer (whose language is that of a pious and devoted minister,) had recently landed. He gives a highly favourable account of the climate, but a deplorable one of the want of provisions, arising from the paucity of inhabitants to cultivate the soil,[2] and a still more deplorable one of such native inhabitants as were found there. They scarcely acknowledged the existence of God, and seemed to have no discrimination of right and wrong. —The fact is this: a colony had been sent to that country from France in the year 1555, the admiral de Coligni promoting the measure with all his influence, in the hope of providing in a distant country an asylum for his protestant brethren, who were persecuted and proscribed at home. The colony was formed under the

[1] Calv. Epist. p. 121.

[2] "Id efficit rarus habitator, et somnolentus agricola."

command of Villegagnon, an officer high in the French naval service. He himself had embraced the reformed religion, and was eager for a time to cooperate with the admiral. He in consequence wrote to Coligni requesting further reinforcements, particularly some good ministers from Geneva to plant the Christian faith in the new world. He addressed a letter also to Calvin to the same effect: and in consequence Peter Richer and several others from Geneva, accompanied by numerous French protestants, embarked at Harfleur in three ships furnished by the crown. On their arrival at Rio de Janeiro, they were received by Villegagnon with the greatest demonstrations of joy. But, won over, as it is supposed, by the cardinal of Lorraine, that commander soon after became, instead of the protector, the persecutor of the protestants; the ministers were sent home under circumstances of the greatest cruelty, with the intention that they should either perish at sea, or be committed to the flames as heretics on their arrival in France. And thus the whole design had a speedy and disastrous issue. [1] A.D. 1557.

From this period Calvin began to experience those attacks of more serious indisposition, which gradually increased upon him, and made his remaining years years of so much suffering as would have laid most men aside from their labours, though it scarcely diminished his. In 1556 he was seized first in the pulpit with a tertian fever, which obliged him to desist from his discourse, and caused a report of his death to be spread, which, Beza informs us was a Calvin's declining health.

[1] Brown's Hist. of the Propagation of Christianity: Christian Observer, 1826, p. 743—746.

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second time received with greediness at his native city of Noyon, and acknowledged by the canons of the cathedral with public thanksgivings. Not long after however he undertook, what was not very usual with him,[1] a journey of some length, to Francfort, to appease some discords which had arisen in the French church at that place. He returned in poor health, but persisted in his labours both public and private; and the next year published his commentary on the book of Psalms, with a preface which has been considered as peculiarly excellent. In 1558 he was attacked much more seriously with a quartan fever, which hung upon him for eight months and so much weakened his already reduced and feeble frame, that he never fully recovered from its effects. Being now necessarily restrained from preaching and lecturing, he exerted himself the more diligently with his pen, and by dictating numberless letters;[2] and also revised for the last time his Christian Institutes, both in French and Latin, and almost wrote over again his commentary on Isaiah—frequently observing, that "nothing was so painful to him as his present idle life:" while Beza remarks, that *his* idleness, while sick, might have wearied his healthy brethren.

Oct.

Death of Henry II, of France. 1559.

The following year was marked by two events of importance to Geneva, the one the work of divine providence in the way that we call accident, the other the result of Calvin's long and urgent instances to the senate. In

[1] "Præter Morem." Beza.

[2] Mary of England died 16 Nov. 1558. We have a letter of Calvin's to Cecil, Elizabeth's minister, in the following January, urging him to zeal and decision in promoting the reformed faith. Epist. p. 133.

[3] Beza. Calv. Epist. p. 132 (b), 134 (a), 135 (a).

the former I refer to the death of Henry II, king of France, who was killed in a tournament given at the nuptials of his sister with Emanuel Philibert, son of the late duke of Savoy. This event relieved Geneva from great danger: because Henry having entered into close amity with the duke of Savoy, and being also greatly incensed against Geneva as the hot bed of heresy, was bent upon its destruction and the restoration of the duke: which design was frustrated by the death of the king. A. D. 1559.

The other event now happily accomplished was the building, endowing, and opening to six hundred students, of the college or university of Geneva. Beza, called from the Greek professorship at Lausanne, which he had held for ten years, was appointed rector, while Calvin contented himself with the office of professor of divinity.[1] Establishment of the college of Geneva. Beza.

At the beginning of this year, the celebrated Scotch reformer John Knox, after having resided for some time at Geneva, took his final departure for his own country, and was on that occasion honoured with the freedom of the city. We feel surprised to find that the like mark of respect was not conferred on Calvin till the close of the same year.[2] In the month of August following Knox wrote to Calvin a favourable account of the success of his labours in Scotland, and proposed to him two questions: 1. Whether the children of excommunicated persons and idolaters (papists) ought to be admitted to baptism, before their parents professed repentance, and were thus reconciled to the church: 2. Whether monks and mass-priests, who, though they now acknowledged their errors, Departure of John Knox. Jan. 7. Dec. Correspondence with him. Proper subjects of baptism.

[1] Beza. Spon, i. 304-5. Ruchat, v. 588-9, 624—626.
[2] M'Crie's Life of Knox, ii. 238. Senebier, i. 375.

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neither served nor were capable of serving the church, should be allowed a maintenance from the funds which had been set apart for religious purposes. Knox, it seems, had decided both these questions in the negative. Will it afford pleasure or disappointment to learn that his correspondent took more liberal views with respect to them? Calvin's answer is not dated till November, for which he apologizes from the difficulties of finding a satisfactory channel of communication with Scotland: but, after consulting his colleagues, he delivers their common sentiments to the following effect. He commends his friend's zeal to guard the sacrament of baptism against profanation, which it would suffer if it were indiscriminately administered, or if any were admitted to it "without competent sponsors." At the same time the rule must be, to consider the divine institution, and "whom God invited to baptism." "The promise extended not only to the children of believers in the first generation, but to *a thousand generations*.[1] Hence that interruption of true religion which had prevailed under the papacy did not take away the power and efficacy of baptism. We ought not to doubt that the descendants of pious ancestors, though their

[1] Hooker here remarks that, though "the conclusion is sound," yet "the ground is but weak" on which it is built: since from the reason it would seem "that all the world may be baptised, inasmuch as no man living is a thousand descents removed from Adam himself." Eccl. Pol. vol. i. p. 357: Oxf. 8vo. But is there not a little of the "ardentium verborum irrisio" in this criticism? And might it not be applied to the second commandment itself, whence the number of a "thousand" generations is borrowed? It is a large expression, to signify the boundless extent of God's mercy. —The argument does not require *literally* "a thousand generations."

immediate fathers and grandfathers were apostates, yet belonged to the body of the church. The practice of the papists indeed, in stealing the children of Jews and Turks in order to baptise them, was a depraved and insane superstition: yet, wherever the profession had not utterly failed and become extinct, infants were deprived of their just privilege (jure) if they were excluded from the common symbol: for it was unjust, when God had honoured them with his adoption three hundred years or more before, that the subsequent want of piety in their parents should (be supposed to) cut off the current of the divine favour.—Further, as no one is received to baptism merely from respect or favour to his immediate parent alone, but on account of God's uninterrupted (continuum) covenant, so no reason would suffer that, for the displeasure borne to one parent, (or generation—unius parentis odio,) children should be precluded entrance into the church.—Proper sponsors however (he urges,) are necessary: for nothing could be more absurd than to insert into the body of Christ those who we do not hope will be his disciples. If no relation (or friend) therefore appears, who will engage to the church, and undertake the instruction of the infant, the proceeding is a mockery, and the sacrament is profaned." He wishes however to have things brought to that state, that parents might be found fit for the office, and become the first sponsors.—"We must also," he says, "consider the existing circumstances of the church now under restoration, (renascentis,) as compared with one duly formed and ordered..... For, if perfection is required in the first instance, it is much to be feared that many will take occasion from A. D. 1559.

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such a demand to continue in their present corruptions."

Maintenance of priests and monks.

On the question respecting the priests and monks he contends, that persons, who rendered and could render no service to the church, could never have had any claim upon her for a maintainance. Yet it behoved those concerned "to act with humanity" in the case, for "it would be hard that they, who had devoted themselves to that kind of life under the influence of ignorance and error, should be deprived of support: .... and, as at their death the church would recover the funds which had been set apart for her service, the present annual emolument should not be made the subject of contention." [1]

On the subject of admission to baptism he had written in the same strain, in the year 1553, to Farel, who had consulted him on the reception of a child presented by its grandmother; and had also referred to the case of a child of Gypsey parents. The great thing required, he answered, was, that there should be a reasonable prospect of the children being brought up as Christians.[2]

Presbyterian church in London.

Queen Elizabeth's policy led her to support the protestants in France; and hence those of them who emigrated to England were kindly received. They were allowed to form themselves into a presbyterian church in London; and by the direction of Grindal, bishop of that see, they obtained Nicholas Gallasius, or de

[1] Epist. p. 201-2.

[2] Ibid. p. 79, 80. P. 212 (a), he utterly condemns, as unscriptural on that point, a confession of faith which denied "that infants were sanctified from their birth." (1 Cor. vii. 14.) He says, "They are sanctified (set apart) by the promise, which is to be confirmed to our feeble faith by the seal of the sacrament."

Gallars, from Geneva to be their pastor. A letter is preserved from Calvin to Grindal, in the year 1560, on this subject.[1] A. D. 1560.

In the same year, on an application made to him from Poland, Calvin in some degree engaged in the controversy against Stancari's notion, of Christ being our mediator only in his human nature.[2] Like an experienced master, well aware of the various bearings of the several questions that came before him, he here inserted a caution, which proved not unnecessary to some who rashly rushed into the controversy, that they should guard against "*so* asserting the mediation of Christ in the divine as well as human nature, as *to multiply the Deity*," or to run, as Blandrata had done, into tritheism. Even the acts performed peculiarly in our Lord's human nature, (as his sufferings,) Calvin contends, owe their efficacy to the divine nature united with it.[3] Stancari.

[1] Calv. Epist. p. 144.

[2] See vol. ii. 127. "Italy has proved fatal to the Polanders." *Beza.* "Among the Italians, on account of the refinement and acuteness of their genius, the vice of an insatiable love of novelty, as a kind of diseased pruriency, is predominant." Calv. Op. viii. 510.

[3] Beza. Calv. Epist. p. 182—184. Op. viii. 187. In the epistle here referred to, which is called "The answer of the church of Geneva against Stancari," most honourable mention is made of Melancthon, then lately deceased, as "a faithful servant of God," "whose memory all good men ought to hold in honour and esteem:" and it is pronounced that it would be "an act of ingratitude to God and to him not to resent the treatment he had met with from Stancari." —Here also an important observation occurs on the Gospel of St. John: "It throughout abounds with sentences in which the things that Christ claims to himself cannot agree either to his human or his divine nature separately, but must be referred to his entire person." p. 182 (b). Much also seems to apply to him in his delegated and official character (so to speak,) of mediator.

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United Brethren. 1560.

At this period also the "Bohemian Waldenses," or "United Brethren," deputed two of their number to consult him on certain points connected with their doctrine and their situation. He treated them with the greatest respect and kindness, and exhorted them to maintain union and intercourse with the other churches which had cast off the corruptions of Rome.[1]

Complaints of France. 1561.

Now likewise he was called upon by the senate to reply to the complaints made by the new king of France, (Charles IX,) that the Genevese supported persons in his kingdom who disturbed both church and state. And this service he performed in such a manner that, if the complaint was not dropped, the threats connected with it were never executed. Besides several smaller pieces,[2] he at this time published his Lectures on the prophet Daniel, which he inscribed to the French protestants, and in which he anticipated the approach of stormy days to the church.[3]

Conferences of Poissy. 1561.

The celebrated conferences at Poissy between the Romanists and the French protestants, at which the king and queen and other royal and exalted personages presided, occurred at this period. Beza from Geneva and Peter Martyr from Zurich attended, by special invitation, and were received with great honour: and the former remained in France nearly two years. Calvin likewise was invited,[4] but his health, and

[1] Beza. Calv. Epist. p. 145. Item, 106 (a), 115 (b), 116 (a).

[2] Answers to Saconay, Op. viii. 321—330: to Balduin, 304—321: to Gentilis, 568—584: to Blandrata, 585: to Heshusius, 723—744: &c.

[3] Beza. Spon, i. 306.

[4] By the king of Navarre. Regist. of Council, 21 July, 1561.

perhaps also other circumstances, did not permit him to go. He took however a lively interest in all that passed. On this occasion he drew up for the French protestants a confession of faith, which, being presented at the conference, and otherwise adopted and confirmed by them, gave occasion to their being denominated *Calvinistic*. He repeated that service also soon after, at the request of the prince of Condé in a short formulary exhibited to the diet of the empire at Francfort, to vindicate the French protestants from the calumnies spread against them in Germany. A copious account of the proceedings at Poissy, chiefly in letters from Beza, is to be found in Calvin's correspondence: but, as the subject belongs to the history of the French rather than the Swiss reformation, we shall not here enter further into it.[1]

A. D. 1562.

1562.

The year following, amid great and increasing infirmities, he continued to dictate numerous letters and papers, and to give advice to those who consulted him from various quarters. He composed two earnest admonitions to the people of Poland against the antitrinitarians;[2] published his commentaries on four out of the five books of Moses in Latin, and also translated them into French, and commenced his commentary on Joshua, which was his last work, and was finished only just before his death. Nor did he, as long as he was able to get abroad, neglect the ordinary pastoral duty of visiting the sick. Thus was this faithful servant found, when his Lord came, "with his loins girded and his lamp burning."

Calvin's concluding labours. 1563.

On the 6th of February, 1564, he with great

[1] Beza. Thuanus, ii. 117—126. Spon, i. 307—309. Calv. Epist. p. 154—156, 157—159, 164—167. Op. viii. 92—98.

[2] Op. viii. 589—592.

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difficulty, arising particularly from asthmatic oppression, preached to the congregation: but it was for the last time. He taught no more in public, except as from time to time, to the last day of March, he was carried to church, and spoke a few words to the people, but not in any continued address. Multiplied diseases weighed him down, and the shades of death began to gather around him.—Beza, partly from his own knowledge and partly from a letter which Calvin wrote to the physicians of Montpelier,[1] who had kindly offered him their advice through his medical attendant, gives the following account of his constitution, his habits, and his present distressing state, when a complication of disorders had made their united attack[2] upon him. "He was naturally of a spare and feeble frame, of a sallow complexion and bilious habit, tending to consumption. He was subject to severe headachs, from which strict abstinence alone afforded him relief. Hence for more than ten years together he took only one meal in the day, generally in the evening; and frequently he fasted for thirty-six hours together. His digestion was bad: and his sleep scarcely deserved the name.[3] Five years before his death he was attacked by a spitting of blood: and, when his long-continued intermitting fever left him, that "host" of disorders to which we have alluded, and which he himself enumerates—asthma, gout, (ascending from his feet to his knees,) stone, gravel, cholic, and a severe hemorrhoidal affection—began to shew themselves: and, as he observed in writing to the physicians, the inaction to which the pains in his legs and feet, together with the complaint

His habits and complicated disorders. 1564.

[1] Epist. p. 170. [2] "Turmatim."
[3] "Dormiens penè vigilabat."

which rendered him unable to ride, reduced him, left him no hope of recruiting his strength. He strictly observed the directions of his medical attendants, but otherwise, and when not under their care, he suffered nothing to interrupt his work: preaching often under a headach which would have confined most men to their couch." Amid all the sufferings under which he languished for three months, we are told, not an impatient word escaped him. Sometimes he would direct his eyes upwards, and simply say, "How long, O Lord?" a phrase which during his health he had often had on his lips when he received tidings of the calamities of his brethren, or reflected on the oppressions of the church:[1] or he would repeat the words of David, "I held my peace because THOU didst it:" or those of Isaiah, "I did mourn as a dove." And again he was overheard saying, "Thou bruisest me, O Lord, but it amply suffices me that it is THY hand."[2]—Still he persisted in dictating and

A. D. 1564.

[1] Rev. vi. 9—11, "How long, O Lord, holy and true &c." We have another affecting instance of the adoption of these words, "ever and anon sighed forth." "It being three o'clock, our attention was roused by the voice of the mowedden from one of the minerets" of the great mosque at Jerusalem, "calling the Mahomedans to their usual prayer, at that hour. The bishop (of Nazareth) mournfully turned to me, and exclaimed, Ἕως πότε; *How long?* His few and simple words quite sunk into my heart."—"Christian Researches in Syria and the Holy Land, by the Rev. W. Jowett, M. A." p. 240.

[2] Delightful sentiment, both of the inspired Psalmist and of the suffering Christian!—"Let us fall now into THE HAND OF THE LORD, for his mercies are great! and let me not fall into the hand of man."—The bias of fallen nature lies the contrary way. Much reason as we may have to distrust our fellow creatures, we distrust God yet more: and dare not leave ourselves in his hands. Divine grace restores the love of God in our hearts, and with it confidence in him.—I have collected the sentences cited in the text from different parts of Beza's account.

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writing as he was able, and, when entreated by his friends to forbear, he replied, "Would you have my Lord find me idle when he cometh?"—What a triumph was here exhibited, not only of mind over matter, but still more of pious zeal over the demands of nature for repose.

Interview with his brother ministers.

On the 10th of March his brother ministers coming to him, as they frequently did, found him sitting at the table at which he was accustomed to study. He sat silent for a short time, resting his head on his hand, as his manner was when thinking; and then, with a kind and cheerful countenance, he warmly thanked them for all their attentions to him, and told them he still hoped at a fortnight's end (when the stated time recurred,) to meet them in the consistory, but *for the last time*: for by that period, said he, "I think the Lord will manifest his pleasure concerning me, and will probably take me to himself." He accordingly did attend the consistory on the 23d of March; and when the business was over he observed, that some further continuance seemed to be appointed for him. He then took up a French Testament with notes, which he was correcting, and asked his brethren's opinion on some points. He suffered however for this exertion. On the 27th, having a new regent or tutor to propose for the college, he caused himself to be carried to the senate-house, and being supported by his friends walked into the hall; when uncovering his head he returned thanks to the senate for all the kindness they had shewn him, especially during his illness. With a faultering voice he then added: "I think I have entered this house for the last time:" and took his leave, tears being shed on both sides. On the 2d of April, which was Easter day he was carried to

He visits the Senate.

church, and received the sacrament from the hands of Beza, joining in the hymn with such an expression of joy in his countenance as attracted the notice of the congregation. On the 25th he sent for a notary and dictated his will, which he signed, and the next day caused to be read over to Beza and the other ministers, and attested by them in his presence. His worldly goods, the value of which, including his library, he had pretty accurately calculated, scarcely amounted to three hundred crowns. He made his brother Anthony nominally his heir, but begged that he would be contented with a silver salver for his share, (a present which Calvin had received,) and would divide the remainder among his children and other relations, the college, and the poor.

A. D. 1564.

His will.

But the part of Calvin's will which will be chiefly interesting to us is that in which he declares his faith and ground of dependence, and the view which now, in the near prospect of death, he took of his past course. It is as follows: "First of all I give thanks to God, that, taking compassion on me, (whom he had created and placed in this world,) not only did he deliver me out of the deep darkness of idolatry [1] in which I was immersed, that he might bring me into the light of his gospel, and make me a partaker of the doctrine of salvation, of which I was most unworthy: nor only, of the same goodness and mercy, did graciously and kindly bear with my many sins, for which I deserved to be rejected by him and destroyed, but did also exercise towards me so great clemency and condescension as to deign to employ

Extract from it.

[1] We see in what terms all these great and enlightened men speak of that *idolatry*, in which they themselves had been involved under the papacy.

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me in preaching and publishing the truth of his gospel: and I testify and declare that it is my purpose to pass the remainder of my life in the same faith and religion which he has delivered to me in his gospel; and that I have no other confidence or refuge for my salvation than his gratuitous adoption, on which alone my salvation depends: and with my whole heart I embrace the mercy which he has shewn to me for the sake of Jesus Christ, atoning for my crimes by the merits of *his* death and passion, that by it satisfaction may be made for all my offences, and the remembrance of them blotted out. I further testify and declare that I humbly implore of him, that he will grant me so to be washed and purified by the blood of that great Redeemer, which was shed for the sins of the human race,[1] that I may stand before his tribunal under the image (or form) of the Redeemer himself.[2] I likewise declare that, according to the measure of grace and mercy which God has shewn to me, I have made it my endeavour, both in my preaching and in my writings and commentaries, purely and uncorruptly to expound his scriptures: and I testify and declare that, in all the controversies and disputes in which I have been engaged with the enemies of the gospel, I have made use of no corrupt and sophistical arts, but have aimed candidly and sincerely to defend the

[1] Dr. Williams, late of Rotherham, a decided advocate of 'moderate Calvinism,' lays much stress on this expression, thus introduced where it was not necessary to complete the sentence, as shewing that, in Calvin's view, there was an important sense in which Christ died strictly and literally *for all men*.

[2] "Having put on Christ:" so that, 'God now looking on them, there appears nothing but Christ.' Locke on Gal. iii. 27.

truth.—But, alas for me! that study and zeal of mine (if it may deserve the name of zeal,) has been so remiss and languid, that I confess my failures of worthily performing this service to have been innumerable; so that, but for the boundless goodness of God, all my endeavours must have been fruitless and vain. I confess also that, but for the same divine goodness, the endowments of mind which God has bestowed on me must have made me only the more chargeable with guilt and unprofitableness, before his tribunal. And on these grounds I testify and declare that I hope in no other source of salvation than this one, that, since God is the Father of mercy, he will shew himself a Father to me, who confess myself a miserable sinner.—As to what remains, my will is, that after my departure out of this life my body be committed to the ground in the manner accustomed in this church and city, till the day of the blessed resurrection shall come."—He then proceeds to dispose of "the little patrimony which God had bestowed upon him," in the manner before recited. A. D. 1564.

Here every truly humble Christian, however little able to follow Calvin in his learned theological researches, or to receive some of those high doctrines which to him appeared clearly deducible from scripture, and even from the fundamental principles of Christianity, will feel that he is "of one heart and of one soul" with him. To this point must the profoundest divine, the most devoted minister, the most successful labourer, come in common with the veriest babe in Christ. Every Christian in looking forward to the great tribunal must feel himself compelled, and heartily disposed, to confess himself to the last "a miserable sinner;" Remarks.

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to cry, '"Unclean, unclean! Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord! Pardon the iniquities even of my holy things! Regard me only as in Christ! In his merits, and in his alone, let me stand before thee, "for in thy sight shall no man living be justified!"'—At the same time we discern in this champion of the doctrine of grace, what was united in the apostle, and may perfectly well be united in us, with all this self-abasement and conscious unworthiness, and this sole dependence on Christ, a "rejoicing in the testimony of his conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with carnal wisdom, but by the grace of God he had had his conversation in the world." Indeed the two must go together in order to our "having confidence before God:" not that the latter is to add any thing to the ground of our dependence, but to give assurance to ourselves and others that we have *builded aright* upon that "only foundation" which is laid for us, and have not deceived ourselves with "a dead faith."—Let that man doubt the sincerity of Calvin's protestations, made in the immediate view of the divine tribunal, who feels himself *able* to do it. Let any man who stands, as so many do, even bitterly opposed to him, shew, if he can, a more firm and more humble confidence, a more truly Christian state of mind, in the near prospect of eternity.

His last address to the senate.

After having thus despatched the business of his will, Calvin sent to inform the syndics and "all the members of the senate," that he wished once more to address them in their hall, whither he hoped the next day to be carried for the purpose. They begged him to have regard to what his health would bear, and promised to attend him at his own house. Accordingly they

"all" came to him the next day "from the senate-house."[1] After mutual salutations, and an apology on his part for bringing them to wait upon him instead of his waiting upon them, he proceeded to address them to a purport which he had for some time wished to do, but had chosen to defer till he had a sure foresight of his approaching dissolution. He renewed his thanks for the great kindness he had experienced from them, the honours they had conferred on him, and the forbearance they had manifested towards his infirmities, particularly "his vehemence," which he confessed had "sometimes exceeded due bounds."[2] He was bound to acknowledge, he said, that God had been pleased to employ him in rendering them some service, and in his heart he had been ever devoted to their republic: but he was conscious of his many deficiencies. Where he had failed he hoped they would forgive him, and impute it to his want of ability rather than his want of will to serve them: and he trusted that God had pardoned all his offences. With respect however to his doctrine, he could solemnly declare that he had not taught rashly and uncertainly, but had delivered purely and sincerely the word of God with which he was put in trust. Had he done otherwise, he must have been as much assured of God's anger impend- A. D. 1564.

[1] Modern biographiers, I suppose from feeling at a loss how to accommodate the whole senate, consisting of sixty or seventy persons, (Spon, i. 202.) in a room at Calvin's house, restrict the attendance to the four syndics. Feeling however that the care of accommodation belongs not to me, I follow the express and repeated testimony of Beza, that it extended to "all the senators."

[2] "Vehementiam illam meam, interdum immoderatam, æquo animo tulistis." Mackenzie, with very unnecessary harshness, translates this, "all my transports of anger."

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ing over him, as he now was that his labours as a teacher had not been unacceptable to the Divine Majesty. "And this," said he, "I am the more anxious to testify, because I cannot doubt that Satan, as his practice is, will raise up heady, light-minded, ungodly men to corrupt the sound doctrine which you have heard from me." Then, passing to the many and great benefits which they had received from Almighty God, he said, "I am the person who can best testify from what dangers the hand of the Lord hath delivered you. You see now in what situation you stand. Whether therefore your affairs be prosperous or adverse, I entreat you to keep this ever in your minds, that it is Almighty God who alone can give stability to kingdoms and states: and with that view it is his pleasure to be worshipped and invoked by mortal men." He reminded them of David's fall when he was in the enjoyment of full prosperity: charged them to walk humbly with their God; and to rely solely on his protection, as the only and all-sufficient source of safety. "But," he added, "if you would have this republic continue in security, see to it that the sacred seat of authority, in which God has placed you, be not defiled with sin: for *them that honour him he will honour, but they that despise him shall be lightly esteemed*... I know," said he, "the temper and manners of you all, and I feel that you need exhortation... Let each one look to himself, and what he finds wanting in him let him ask of God... I admonish the elder not to despise their juniors whom God hath endowed with promising talents. I warn those younger persons to conduct themselves with modesty, and to watch against presumption. Shun contentions, and all that acrimony which in public

affairs has diverted so many from the right course.... Resist every sinister aim and selfish affection: regard Him who has placed you in your station of honour, and seek his Holy Spirit....Again, I pray you to pardon all my infirmities, which I acknowledge and confess before God and his angels, and here before you, my venerable lords." He prayed Almighty God to shower down upon them more abundantly the gifts of his grace and good providence, and by his Holy Spirit to direct all their consultations to the good of the whole republic. He then shook hands with each of them, and they took their leave of him with tears, "parting from him as from a common parent." A. D. 1564.

The following day (April 28,) by his desire all the ministers under the jurisdiction of Geneva came to him, and he addressed them to the following effect: "Stand fast, my brethren, after my decease, in the work on which you have entered, and let not your hearts fail you, for the Lord will preserve this church and republic against all its enemies. Far from you be all discords among yourselves: embrace one another in mutual charity. Think what you owe to this church, in which the Lord hath stationed you, and desert it not....When first I came to this city, the gospel indeed was preached, but every thing was in disorder—as if Christianity had consisted in nothing else than the overturning of images. Not a few wicked men were found in the church, from whom I suffered much shameful treatment: but the Lord our God so strengthened me, even me who am by nature far from bold, (I here speak what is the fact,)[1] that I yielded to

and to the Clergy.

[1] "Minime audentem." We read this declaration with surprise, and should rather have taken Bayle's assertion,

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none of their attempts. I afterwards returned hither from Strasburg, in obedience to a call which was against my inclination because I thought it tended not to usefulness: for I knew not what the Lord had appointed; and the situation was full of most serious difficulties. But, proceeding in my work, I found at length that the Lord had really blessed my labours. Do you therefore also persist in your vocation: uphold the established order: and see that the people be at the same time retained in obedience to the doctrine delivered to them: for some are yet wicked and contumacious. Things, as you see, are now not ill settled: on which account you will be the more criminal before God if by your neglect they are suffered to go to decay.—I avow that I have lived united with you, brethren, in the strictest bonds of true and sincere affection: and I take my leave of you with the same feelings. If you have at any time found me harsh or peevish under my affliction, I entreat your forgiveness." He then returned them his warmest thanks for having taken upon them the burden of his duties, while he was unable to discharge them; shook hands with them all; and "we took leave of him," says Beza, "with sad hearts, and by no means with dry eyes."

His parting letter to Farel.

On the second of May,[1] having received a letter from Farel, (now an old man of seventy-five,[2]

that he was "frighted at nothing," as descriptive of his natural character.

[1] Mel. Adam reads it the "eleventh:" but he may have mistaken Beza's ii, for 11: and in Calvin's Epistles (p. 172,) it stands clearly "2 Maii." The annotator on Spon makes it the "ninth."

[2] "Octuagenarium:" *Beza*. But Ancillon says he was born in 1489: and Mel. Adam, and Beza also himself, in his Icones, say that he died in 1565, at the age of seventy-six.

and in infirm health,) stating that he had determined to come to see him from Neuchâtel, he wrote to him the following brief and affectionate reply: "Farewell, my best and most faithful brother! and, since it is God's pleasure that you should survive me in this world, retain the remembrance of our friendship, which has been useful to the church of God, and the fruits of which await us in heaven. Do not expose yourself to fatigue for my sake. I respire with difficulty, and continually expect my breath to fail me: but it is enough that to Christ I both live and die, who to his people in life and death *is gain*. Again, farewell with the brethren. Geneva, 2 May, 1564." The good old man however came to Geneva according to his purpose, and, after an interview with his sinking friend, returned the next day to Neuchâtel. A. D. 1564.

"The remainder of his days," Beza tells us, "Calvin passed in almost perpetual prayer. His voice indeed was interrupted by the difficulty of his respiration; but his eyes (which to the last retained their brilliancy,) uplifted to heaven, and the expression of his countenance, shewed the fervour of his supplications. His doors," he proceeds, "must have stood open day and night, if all had been admitted who from sentiments of duty and affection wished to see him: but, as he could not speak to them, he requested they would testify their regard by praying for him rather than by troubling themselves about seeing him. Often also, though he ever shewed himself glad to receive me, he intimated a scruple respecting the interruption thus given to my employments: so thrifty was he of time which ought to be spent in the service of the church." The His closing days.

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19th of May was the day on which the ministers were again to meet on the affairs of the church, and at this time with special reference to the celebration of the sacrament at Whitsuntide. On these occasions he was accustomed to partake of a friendly meal with them: and he would now have the meeting held and supper prepared at his house. When the time came, he caused himself to be removed from his bed to the room in which they were assembled, and thus briefly addressed them: "I come to you for the last time, never more to sit down with you at table." He then offered up a short prayer, took a small portion of food, and conversed with them for a little time in a cheerful manner: but before supper was finished he was obliged to be carried back to his chamber. He looked pleasantly upon his friends as he went out, and said, "This will not prevent my being present with you in spirit." He never afterwards left his bed. On the 27th of May, he spoke with less difficulty and in a stronger voice: but this was the last effort of nature.

His death. May 27.

At about eight o'clock in the evening the symptoms of dissolution suddenly came on. Beza, who had recently left him, was sent for, and on hastening to the house found that he had expired.* He had departed without even a sigh, and in the full possession of his powers to the last. Lamentation prevailed throughout the city on his decease. Multitudes flocked to see his corpse: and among them the English ambassador to the French court, who had come to Geneva to see and hear him. At first all comers were freely admitted: but afterwards, to prevent inconvenience, and the perverse representations which might be made of such an exhibition, this was restrained: and the next day but one,

(being Sunday,) at two o'clock in the afternoon, his remains were interred, according to the directions which he had himself given, in a grave in the common burying place, called Plein-Palais, without any monument or inscription to distinguish the place. His funeral however was attended by the members of the senate, the pastors and other ministers of the city, the professors of the college, and a great proportion of the citizens at large, who testified their sense of the loss they had sustained by the strong emotion which they manifested. A D. 1564.

He lived, says Beza, "fifty four years, ten months, and seventeen days; half of which time he passed in the sacred ministry. His stature was of a middle size, his complexion (as already stated,) dark and pale, his eyes brilliant even till death, expressing the acuteness of his understanding. He lived nearly without sleep. His power of memory was almost incredible; and his judgment so sound, that his decisions often seemed almost oracular. In his words he was sparing; and he despised an artificial eloquence: yet was he an accomplished writer: and, by the accuracy of his mind, and his practice of dictating to an amanuensis,[1] he attained to speak little differently from what he would have written. The consistency and uniformity of his doctrine, from first to last, are scarcely to be paralleled. Nature had formed him grave; yet in the intercourse of social life no one shewed more suavity. He exercised great forbearance towards all such infirmities in others as are consistent with integrity—not overawing Beza's character of him.

[1] Among the minutes in the registers of the council of Geneva we find one, 31 Aug. 1545, "to allow Calvin a secretary at the public expence." How long this might last I know not.

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his weaker brethren: but towards flattery, and every species of insincerity, especially where religion was concerned, he was severe and indignant. He was naturally irritable: and this fault was increased by the excessive laboriousness of his life: yet the Spirit of God had taught him to govern both his temper and his tongue.—That so many and so great virtues both in public and in private life should have called forth against him many enemies, no one will wonder who duly considers what has ever befallen eminent men, both in sacred and profane history. Those enemies brand him as *a heretic:* but Christ suffered under the same reproach. He was *expelled,* say they, from Geneva. True, he was: but he was solicited to return. He is charged with *ambition,* yea with aspiring at a new popedom. An extraordinary charge to be brought against a man who chose *his* kind of life, and in this state, in this church, which I might truly call the very seat of poverty. They say again that he *coveted wealth.* Yet all his worldly goods, including his library, which brought a high price,[1] scarcely amounted to three hundred crowns (aureos). Well might he say in his preface to the book of Psalms, 'That I am not a lover of 'money, if I fail of persuading men while I 'live, my death will demonstrate.' How small his stipend was the senate knows: yet they can bear witness that, so far from being dissatisfied with it, he pertinaciously refused an increase when it was offered him. He delighted, forsooth, in *luxury* and indulgence. Let his labours answer the charge. What accusations will not

[2] The council ordered that as many of the books as Beza should select should be purchased for the public library. Regist. July 8.

A. D. 1564.

some men bring against him? But no refutation of them is wanting to those persons who knew him while he lived; and they will want none, among posterity, with men of judgment who shall collect his character from his writings. Having given with good faith the history of his life and of his death, after sixteen years' observation of him, I feel myself warranted to declare, that in him was proposed to all men an illustrious example of the life and death of a Christian: so that it will be found as difficult to emulate as it is easy to calumniate him." [1]

[1] Abridged from the conclusion of Beza's narrative. As copied by Melchior Adam that narrative wants the closing sentence.—It is very observable, that at that time of day Beza felt not that he had any accusation against Calvin to answer, drawn from his treatment of Servetus.—Neither (according to Waterman,) did Bolsec or Maimbourg bring any charge against him on that head.

On one point noticed by Beza, Calvin's superiority to the love of money, I shall add a short notice or two from his epistles, and then subjoin the remarks of Bayle, as strikingly shewing the impression which the conduct of Christian ministers on that subject makes on acute and observant men of the world. In two letters to Farel, in 1539, Calvin adverts to a small sum, a single piece of money, ("coronatum,") which he had lent to some Waldensian brethren who were passing on to visit Farel. He tells him he might receive it of them if they offered it, and place it to his credit against what he owed him: for, said he, "such are my present circumstances that I cannot pay you a single farthing." (p. 6. a.) In the second letter he regrets that this money had not been paid, as it was an inconvenience to him: yet declines receiving any thing. "My books," he says, "which are yet at Geneva, will supply what will satisfy my host till next winter: and for the future the Lord will provide." (p. 9. b.) In another letter, dated in 1555, he makes the same remark as has been quoted from his preface to the book of Psalms, that, while the frugality of his mode of living was manifest, death would disprove his having amassed wealth. To avoid incumbrance and every imputation on this subject, he had refused even to be a trustee for large sums for distribution. p. 103-4.—Bayle's observations are as follows: "This is one of the most

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Another character of him.

The following remarks, made at the close of Calvin's life, by the annotators on Spon's History of Geneva, may not be unworthy of being added. "It is impossible to refuse him the praise of vast knowledge, exquisite judgment, a penetration which is uncommon, a prodigious memory, and admirable temperance and sobriety... Affairs public and private, ecclesiastical and civil, occupied him in succession, and often all together. Consulted from all quarters both at home and abroad; carrying on a correspondence with all the churches and all the learned men of Europe, with the princes and other persons of high distinction, who had embraced the reformed religion: it seems almost inconceivable how one man could be capable of so many things, and how he should not sink under the weight of the business which pressed upon him. The enemy of all

extraordinary victories virtue and magnanimity can obtain over nature, even in those who are ministers of the gospel. Calvin has left behind him many who imitated him in his active life, his zeal and affection for the cause; they employ their voices, their pens, their steps and solicitations, for the advancement of the kingdom of God, but then they take care not to forget themselves, and are, generally speaking, a demonstration that the church is a bountiful mother, and that nothing is lost in her service.... Such a will as this of Calvin, and such a disinterestedness, is a thing so very extraordinary, as might make even those who cast their eyes on the philosophers of Greece say of him, *I have not found so great faith no not in Israel.* When Calvin was taking his leave of those of Strasburg, in order to return to Geneva, they offered to continue his freedom, and the revenue of a prebend they had assigned him: he accepted the first, but rejected the latter.... He carried one of his brothers with him to Geneva, without ever thinking of advancing him to any honours, as others would have done with his great credit. ... Even his enemies say he had him taught the trade of a book-binder, which he exercised all his life."—Bayle, *Calvin*, note B. B.

pomp; modest in his whole deportment; perfectly disinterested and generous, and even entertaining a contempt for riches; he made himself not less respected for the qualities of his heart, than admired for the powers of his understanding. When the council wished to make him a present of five and twenty crowns on occasion of his continued illness, he refused to accept it;[1] because, he said, since he then rendered no service to the church, so far from meriting any extraordinary recompence, he felt scruples about receiving his ordinary stipend: and a few days before his death he absolutely refused a part of his appointments which had become due.... He always presided in the company of pastors. Without envy they saw him by reason of his rare merit, which raised him far above all his colleagues, occupy the first place... When his frequent illnesses prevented his being regularly present among them, they had requested Beza to supply his place. A few days after Calvin's death Beza declined this service, and at the same time recommended to them not in future to entrust an office of such importance permanently to any individual —(safely as it might have been committed to Calvin, and due as it justly was to his services, ... but rather to choose a fresh moderator every year, who should simply be considered as

A. D. 1564.

[1] Regist. of Council, 13. Mar. 1564. Repeated instances of this kind appear on the minutes from 1546 to 1563. Some of the entries in the registers are very curious. The present of a cask of wine to Calvin has been noticed. At another time a suit of clothes was voted him. (1541, Sept. 13 and 20.) "Nov. 26, 1543. M. William Farel having come to the town in bad clothes, a new suit was ordered to be presented to him!"—March 10, 1564, an order passed "that every one should pray for the restoration of M. Calvin's health."

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primus inter pares—presiding among his equals. This proposition was unanimously approved, and Beza himself, notwithstanding the pleas on which he would have been excused, was immediately chosen the first moderator, as possessing all the requisite qualifications: and the choice was sanctioned by the council."[1]

Additional remarks on his character.

Some readers will probably think that there are features in both these sketches of Calvin's character, which are too favourably drawn. Beza's statement (even as I have somewhat softened it,) of his having restrained his too irritable temper from shewing itself even in words, and much more in actions, differs from the convictions which Calvin himself felt, and avowed to the members of the senate. Perhaps also the imputation of "ambition" is too summarily disposed of by Beza;[2] and the praise of "modesty in his whole deportment" somewhat too lavishly bestowed by our anonymous authors—though partiality for him does not appear to be their prominent characteristic. We cannot but suspect that a little love of power (which he could not but feel himself well qualified both to acquire and to wield,) entered into his temper: and that it "gave him some pain to see others differ from him," will not excite the surprise of those who are duly sensible how strongly, as Hooker remarks in this very connexion, "nature worketh in us all a love to our own counsels;" and, at the same time, consider what pains Calvin had taken, and what talents he had exerted, to conduct his counsels

[1] Spon, i. 313, 314.

[2] Merely on the ground of his taking up with a situation at Geneva. But it may be remembered that even the ambition of a Cesar could prefer being "the *first* man in a village to being the *second* at Rome."

to a right conclusion. Yet it is but justice to say, that I have found no trace of any of these evils prevailing in him to such a degree as even to excite the jealousy of his friends, much less to alienate the affections of any who deserved his friendship. Nor does he appear, either by these qualities, or by his "irritability," or his "too great vehemence," ever to have given any permanent offence to the senate. The persons who resisted and disliked him seem to have been in general loose and bad men, who could not brook the restraints which his character and influence, and the discipline he had established, imposed on them. His taking the lead among those with whom he usually acted seems to have been an office which naturally devolved upon him, rather than a power which he assumed. Whatever "equality" might be theoretically maintained, he was felt to be so decidedly the "first" man present, that others, even unintentionally and insensibly, fell into their ranks in subordination to him. His friends uniformly speak of him with an admiration and affection, which demonstrate that he on the whole "bore his honours meekly," and that his yoke was never galling to them. A. D. 1564.

We will conclude this review of Calvin's character, and this portion of our history, with a few remarks on him as compared with some of his great contemporaries—leaders in the work of reformation. Five persons of this description have more particularly engaged our attention, and we have now traced, even to their close, the histories of LUTHER and MELANCTHON, of ZWINGLE, and ŒCOLAMPADIUS, and CALVIN. These five persons may perhaps be admitted into one class, which, as far as Germany and Switzerland are concerned, must be Comparative view of Calvin, Luther, Melancthon, Zwingle, and Œcolampadius.

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exclusively their own: though among them, whether we regard the mental powers which they exerted, or the effect of their labours, we must acknowledge a "first three," unto which the others have "not attained." In Calvin we trace not indeed the chivalrous heroism of the great Saxon reformer; nor the sometimes "too adventurous"[1] elevation of the father of the Swiss reformation; nor, certainly, the genius and the tenderness of Melancthon; nor "the *meekness* of wisdom" which peculiarly adorned Œcolampadius. But in some other important qualities he excelled them all. Perhaps in learning he was superior to any one of them: in sound and correct judgment, formed upon a comprehensive and dispassionate consideration of all the points involved in a great question, I should certainly conclude him to have been so. Firm as Luther, without his impetuosity, he avoided all the embarrassments which arose from the scrupulous anxiety of Melancthon. Inferior to none, superior to most of them, in sagacity and penetration, he was more a man of system and order in all things, whether relating to doctrine, to discipline, or to his compositions as an author, than any other of their number. The first among them, we may perhaps pronounce, in sheer intellect, he fell short of more than one of them in the powers of imagination, and of all of them in warmth of heart. Hence, while he commands our veneration, he does not equally attract our affection.

[1] Dean Milner.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CALVIN'S WORKS—REVIEW OF HIS INSTITUTES.

A. D. 1564.

Calvin's Works.

THE works of Calvin amounted in the Geneva edition to twelve volumes folio. By the help of large paper and close printing they are reduced in the best edition, printed at Amsterdam, [1] to nine volumes. Of these the first seven consist of Commentaries and Expository Lectures on Scripture, extending to all the books of the New Testament, except the Apocalypse, and to nearly all those of the Old Testament. The eighth volume is occupied by miscellaneous pieces, most of which have been referred to: and the ninth contains the Institutes, and the author's Correspondence as first published by Beza in the year 1575.[2]

Judgment formed of his writings.

Morus.

The observation of a successor of Calvin on his writings appears to be perfectly just, in both its parts. "It has been a subject of surprise to many persons," says Alexander Morus,[3] "that,

[1] The last volume dated 1667: the rest 1671.

[2] An additional volume of Letters ("Lettres de Calvin à Jaques de Burgogne, Seigneur de Falais et de Bredam,") was published at Amsterdam, in 12mo. 1744.—Senebier (i. 259.) informs us that there exist in manuscript, in the public library at Geneva, more than two thousand of Calvin's sermons and lectures, taken down from his mouth as he delivered them.

[3] Above, p. 368.

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during the short time which God lent him to the world, he should have written and published so great a number of works, so voluminous, and on so great a variety of subjects. But, if those persons would consider, not so much the number and size of his works, as the solidity and erudition, the choice and arrangement of subjects, the beauty and purity of language, and other excellent qualities which appear in every line of his works; they would be less surprised that he has written so much, than that he has written so well."[1]—Indeed the estimation in which the works of Calvin have been held, and the praises which have been bestowed upon them from apparently the most opposite quarters, are almost without a parallel. I shall bestow no pains to collect the "testimonies and commendations of authors," but shall content myself with presenting a few which offer themselves. In addition to what we have already read from the pen of Hooker, that great writer says: "Of what account the Master of Sentences[2] was in the church of Rome, the same and more amongst the preachers of reformed churches Calvin had purchased; so that the perfectest divines were judged they, which were skilfullest in Calvin's writings; his books almost the very canon to judge both doctrine and discipline by." And again, concerning his Commentaries and his Institutes, which together make up eight parts out of nine of his works; "We should be injurious unto virtue itself, if we did derogate from them whom their industry hath made great. Two things of principal moment there are which have deservedly procured him honour throughout the world:

Hooker.

[1] Mackenzie, 159. [2] Peter Lombard.

the one his exceeding pains in composing the Institution of Christian Religion, the other his no less industrious travels for exposition of holy scripture, according unto the same institutions. In which two things whosoever they were that after him bestowed their labour, he gained the advantage of prejudice against them if they gainsayed, and of glory above them if they consented." [1] A. D. 1564.

Bishop Andrewes also, whose name deservedly stands very high among the wise and pious members of the church of England, says of Calvin, that "he was an illustrious person, and never to be mentioned without a preface of the highest honour." [2] Andrewes.

Heylyn, the admirer and biographer of archbishop Laud, says, "Calvin's Book of Institutes was, for the most part, the foundation on which the young divines of those times did build their studies." And the great bishop Saunderson, of whose sermons it has been pronounced, "Saunderson is all gold," says, "When I began to set myself to the study of divinity as my proper business, Calvin's Institutions were recommended to me, as they were generally to all young scholars in those times, as the best and perfectest system of divinity, and the fittest to be laid as the groundwork in the study of this profession. And indeed my expectation was not at all deceived in the reading of those Institutions." [3] Heylin. Saunderson.

Concerning his Commentaries, Poole the author of the Synopsis, says in the preface to that work: "Calvin's Commentaries abound in solid discussions of theological subjects, and practical improvements of them. Subsequent Poole.

[1] Preface to Eccl. Pol. [2] Christian Observer, 1803. p. 142-3.
[3] Allen's Translation of the Institutes, preface.

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writers have borrowed most of their materials from Calvin, and his interpretations adorn the books even of those who repay the obligation by reproaching their master."[1]

Horsley.

The testimonies of a great modern authority of a widely different school are also well known. Bishop Horsley speaks of Calvin as "eminent in his day for his piety, his wisdom, and his learning." "I hold the memory of Calvin," he says, "in high veneration; his works have a place in my library; and, in the study of the holy scriptures, he is one of the commentators whom I frequently consult." But what will the reader say to the testimony of ARMINIUS himself? In a letter written only two years before his death he says: "After the holy scriptures, I exhort the students to read the Commentaries of Calvin: ... for I tell them that he is incomparable in the interpretation of scripture; and that his Commentaries ought to be held in greater estimation than all that is delivered to us in the writings of the ancient Christian fathers; so that, in a certain eminent spirit of prophecy, I give the preeminence to him beyond most others, indeed beyond them all. I add, that, with regard to what belongs to common places, his Institutes must be read after the Catechism, as a more ample interpretation. But to all this I subjoin the remark, that they must be perused with cautious choice, like all other human compositions."[2]—And again, speaking of the doctrine of justification, he says: "My opinion is that of Calvin, to whose third book of the Institutes, on this subject, I am ready to subscribe."[3]

Arminius.

His Institutes.

But I shall enter no further into the notice

[1] Ibid. [2] See Christian Observer for 1827, p. 622.
[3] "Declaration of Arminius," ibid. 1807. p. 179.

of Calvin's Works at large: but shall confine myself to that which has been most known, most commended, and most censured—his "Institutes of the Christian Religion." Of this volume we are even told, "It is well known, ... that by a convocation held at Oxford, it was recommended to the general study of the nation."[1] A. D. 1564.

The dedication of the Institutes to Francis I. appears from the first to have been dated, "at Basle, 1 August, 1536." Yet it is generally agreed among critics that the work was published in the year 1535. Bayle assigns cogent reasons for concluding that it must have been so: and both Ruchat and Gerdes affirm that it actually was so.[2] For this apparent discrepancy of dates different reasons are assigned. Gerdes, who has inserted in his very curious collection, the "Miscellanea Groningana,"[3] a literary history of the work, supposes that the edition of 1535 wanted the dedication as well as the author's name. That the latter was wanting we should be disposed to infer from Calvin's preface to the Book of Psalms, where he speaks of having left Basle immediately after the publication of the work, and says, "No one there knew that he was the author of it." That the dedication was not inserted in the first edition, we certainly should not have inferred from Beza's notice of the publication in his Life of Calvin: and it is to be observed that no copy of this edition of 1535 appears to be known to exist; while copies are found printed "at Basle, in 1536, by Thomas Plattner."[4] The work was at first, as we have Their first publication.

[1] Christian Observer, 1803, p. 143.
[2] Ruchat, v. 619: Gerd. iv. 41. [3] Tom. i. p. 451—477.
[4] Two copies only of this edition appear to be known: one at

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Subsequent improvements.

already observed, but a "rudiment" or rough sketch of what it afterwards became. Its success surprised the author, as he acknowledges in that part of his advertisement prefixed to the edition of 1539, which has been retained in the subsequent copies: and hence he spared no pains to improve it. Nor was this done only in the earlier editions, but, as he himself informs us in his final advertisement, dated in 1559, "as often as the work was reprinted" it was thus revised and "enriched with additions:" and, though the edition of 1539, and some following editions profess each to present the work "now made to correspond to its title," yet the author adds, in the closing advertisement just mentioned, "Never did I satisfy myself with it till it was digested into its present order." Accordingly I find the edition of 1539 to be exceeded by one of 1545, by about one third; and this again to have been increased by a fourth part in the work as it at present stands. Both these editions are in folio, printed by Wendelin Rihelius at Strasburg. The former of them I have obtained from the University Library at Cambridge: (C. 9. 3:) the latter is unnoticed by those who profess to give an account of the early impressions.

Early Editions.

The early editions of Calvin's Institutes have been made the subject of divers reports prejudicial to the author or his work, which it has been found difficult to refute because of the rarity of copies. For example, Bayle refers to different Roman-catholic writers who have affirmed that Calvin had in this work disguised his name, taking that of Alcuin, and endeavouring to pass it off as the production of the celebrated preceptor

Brunswick, and another, imperfect, at Geneva. Gerd. "Cette edition est infiniment rare." Senebier.

of Charlemagne, who lived seven hundred years before. One writer says: "In 1539, having like a bear licked over his first Institutions, he presented them to Francis I. under the name of JOHANNES ALCUINUS, which was his anagram, and under which they were printed *per Vindalinum Rihellium, mense Augusti, anno* MDXXXIX." This differs but by an immaterial letter or two from the real imprint. Bayle says, "I dare not undertake the negative, because I never could meet with a copy of this Strasburg edition, 1539, any more than with that of Basle, 1535." In the copy now before me, the words, "Autore Joanne Calvino, Noviodunensi,"[1] stand conspicuous in the title, and "Joannes Calvinus" at the head of the dedication. Hence I should have concluded that the whole charge was a malicious slander, wilfully uttered by one who (from his accurate report of the title,) must have seen the book, and knew what he affirmed to be false. But the result of further inquiry suggests the necessity of caution. Gerdes tells us that Basnage and others had thus discredited the charge altogether, till at length a writer whom he quotes, and whose work appeared only in 1723 at Amsterdam, assures us that, after almost endless search, he had discovered two copies of the edition of 1539, one in London and the other in the library of the Sorbonne at Paris, the former of which bore the name of Calvin in the title, and that of Alcuin at the head of the dedication, and the other presented the name of Alcuin in the title itself! The writer who made this discovery supposes that such a variation of the

A. D. 1564.

[1] Edit. 1545, simply "Authore Joanne Calvino."

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name, in different copies of the same edition, must have proceeded from the desire, either of the author or of his bookseller, to draw the attention of foes as well as friends to the work.—It has been further said, that the titles of the early editions bore the device of a flaming sword with the menacing motto, "I am not come to send peace on the earth but a sword:" and all which Bayle can say in answer is, that "Girard, who printed the Institution at Geneva in quarto in 1550, left out the above-mentioned motto."—But no other device appears in either of the early editions now before me, than what would seem to have been the printer's usual one, a winged female figure bearing in one hand a builder's rule, or square, and in the other some instrument which I cannot exactly decypher. And, as for the motto in both one and the other, it is simply, "Habac. 1. Quorsum Domine"—"How long, O Lord?"[1]—In addition to this, the latter edition exhibits in the title John Sturmius's eulogy on the work and the author, which was first prefixed in 1543.

No change of doctrine in successive editions.

It may not be unsatisfactory to have these points cleared up, though they may be to us little more than matters of curiosity. But it was for more interesting, because somewhat more important objects, that I was anxious to examine these early editions. I wished to ascertain whether, on those doctrines especially which have derived their current designation from the name of Calvin, any material difference existed between his earlier and his later statements: whether, strong as are the language and the positions sanctioned even by his last revision, those of his first copies might not (like those of the early publications of

[1] See above, p. 473.

Melancthon,) have been more obnoxious still. With this view I have, with some care, compared in the different editions, those parts which relate to Providence, Predestination, Election, and the Will. But I have found only *addition*, and not *alteration*, either of sentiment or of language, in the later copies. The same sentences and even words may almost always be traced, (as if they were studiously retained,) though mixed up with considerable enlargement in the way of explanation, illustration, and confirmation. A. D. 1564.

As far therefore as my examination has been carried, it tends fully to establish the conclusion of Beza, that "the consistency and uniformity of Calvin's doctrine, from first to last, are scarcely to be paralleled.[1] One remarkable passage, in which occurs that ill-omened expression "horribile decretum"—which has been iniquitously so rendered as to make the author appear himself to pronounce that decree hateful and unjust, which he yet ascribes to the Most High and Most Holy—belongs, I believe, exclusively to later times. I have not discovered it in either of the old editions.[2] I am far however from intending to assert that Calvin, in advancing from twenty-six to fifty years of age, gained nothing in the way of caution and moderation in speaking upon these deep and awful subjects, though he might not choose to alter the language of a work which had attained such celebrity and establishment. We have

[1] Above, p. 485.

[2] Institut. III. xxiii. 7. From the beginning of the paragraph to the word "fateor" is the addition made in this place. Compare Edit. 1539, p. 253: Edit. 1545, p. 358.—"*Horribilis:* 1. rough or rugged: 2. horrible, terrible, dreadful, frightful: 3. weighty, severe: 4. also *awful*, reverend." Ainsworth.

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the testimony of a writer,[1] to whom we must allow some competence as a witness on such a subject, to the contrary: and the comparison of the Institutes with their author's Treatise of Predestination, in the year 1551-2, will, I apprehend, give some confirmation to his evidence.

Order of the work and changes of arrangement.

But though I have discovered no change of doctrine, abundant variation of arrangement is apparent. In the last edition the work is throughout highly methodical. The Apostles' Creed furnishes the basis of its order, (though this circumstance is not noticed till the second book,) and it is divided into four books. The first treats, in eighteen chapters, of the knowledge of the Creator, with which is connected the knowledge of Man as originally created. The second, in seventeen chapters, is on the knowledge of God our Redeemer, (which includes as its basis the knowledge of Man as a fallen creature,) the law, and the two Testaments. The third, in twenty-five chapters, might perhaps have been entitled, The Knowledge of God our Sanctifier: it is however styled, "The manner of receiving the Grace of Christ, its Benefits, and Effects." It includes the discussion of Faith, Repentance, Justification, Merits, the Christian Life, Prayer, Election and Reprobation, and the final Resurrection. The last book, in twenty chapters, discusses the External Means and Helps of Religion; the Church (including its Polity,) Sacraments, and Political Government. The whole number of chapters is eighty: whereas in the edition of 1539 the number is only seventeen; in that of 1545, twenty-one: (which number continued at least as late as 1553:) while, as I learn from Gerdes,

[1] Dr. Williams of Rotherham.

the edition of 1536 consisted of six chapters only: 1. On the Law: 2. On Faith: 3. On Prayer: 4. On the Sacraments: 5. On the other five Sacraments of the Papists: and 6. On Christian Liberty. A.D. 1549.

In the two early editions which I have examined, Free Will and the Fall of Man are discussed in the second chapter, on "the knowledge of Man:" in the last they are referred to the opening of the second book. "Predestination and Providence," in the order here mentioned, were considered together in the eighth chapter of the one, and in the fourteenth of the other. In the last edition Providence, or God's government of the world, is treated of at the end of the first book, and Election and the kindred topics not till the end of the third. "Christian Liberty" employs the thirteenth chapter of that which consists of only seventeen, and is thrown back to the twelfth of that which is divided into twenty-one chapters.—These specimens may show what pains the author had taken in remodelling and arranging his work.

Proportion of parts.

The very proportion of the parts, in some instances, might serve to correct the misapprehensions which have often been formed concerning Calvin and his writings. The longest chapters in the whole work are on Prayer and the Moral Law. The total number that treat on Predestination and Election are four, or at the most (including the last on Providence,) five: and the whole of these together scarcely equal in extent the two chapters on the Law, or the one on Prayer. They form about a twentieth part of the work. Seventeen are appropriated to the confutation of Roman-catholic errors: while fifty-three are employed on a doctrinal and practical view of the faith

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of the universal church of Christ, as received primarily by her protestant members.

Practical character.

The *practical character* of the work at large has been justly noticed as one of its leading excellences. "Every doctrine is considered as *a principle*, and not as a mere sentiment: and every application of such doctrine is not addressed, in certain general and indistinct terms, to the Christian community at large, but rendered personal and individual. Far from suffering any article of the creed to sleep in the understanding as a quiescent theory, one practical inquiry is found to be perpetually emerging from the depths of argumentation. The student is constantly incited to inquire, what should be the fruit of all this discussion; the living daily consequence to himself.... It should be observed in common justice to Calvin, that his very notions of absolute decrees are, by his own representations, as entirely practical in their results as any opinion gathered from the decalogue; that he himself would be the last man to defend the religion of a licentious predestinarian; nay that he would utterly deny any such character to be possessed of a particle of genuine faith; but on the contrary would view him as a practical atheist, whose speculations about grace were only a species of more elaborate blasphemy."[1]

It is the more necessary to premise these remarks on the contents and general character of the work, because our review will naturally embrace what *distinguishes* it, rather than what is common to it with other sound and comprehensive bodies of divinity; and might thus be in danger of confirming, instead of cor-

[1] Christian Observer, 1817, p. 440.

recting, the erroneous conceptions of the proportion which these parts bear to the whole.. A. D. 1564.

Book I. Knowledge of God the Creator.

For the reason just mentioned we pass over in the opening chapters as common ground, much fine and valuable matter on the knowledge of God; by which is to be understood not curious and vain inquiries concerning his incomprehensible essence, or any merely speculative knowledge, but such just apprehensions of the divine character and attributes as produce their proper effects, in humility, reverence, gratitude, love, confidence, and obedience.

Scriptures.

In shewing that by us fallen creatures the knowledge of God, even simply as the Creator and Governor of the world, will never be derived otherwise than from the scriptures, and thus proceeding to discuss the divine authority of the sacred volume, the author somewhat surprises us by relying entirely, in the first instance, on the internal teaching and illumination of the Spirit to convince us of the inspiration of scripture, (c. vii,) and not leading his reader to the ordinary proofs of that fact, (c. viii,) till it has already been established by this higher species of evidence.[1] Living faith is to come first: rational conviction to succeed only as a confirmation. If any fears however of enthusiasm should here be excited, they may perhaps be relieved by the consideration that an entire chapter immediately follows, to shew that "the fanaticism of discarding the scriptures, under pretence of resorting to immediate revelations, is subversive of all piety."

Idolatry: Images and Pictures.

In treating largely of idolatry, papal as well as pagan, c. x—xii, and contending for the exclusion of all pictures and images from places of worship, seeing the propensity of mankind

[1] Compare 2 Pet. i. 19.

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to abuse them is so great, he adds: "Nevertheless I am not so scrupulous as to think that no images ought ever to be permitted," in common life. "But, since sculpture and painting are the gifts of God, I wish for a pure and legitimate use of both." He accordingly condemns all sensible representations of the Deity, and says, "Nothing should be painted or engraved but objects visible to our eyes."[1] He complains, as we have heard Melancthon also doing, of the gross indecency of many images among the papists.

The Trinity.

In c. xiii, he treats largely of the Trinity, abstaining to a great degree from those explanations and distinctions, from which in some approved writers we cannot but shrink back, as going too far and attempting too much. Indeed on this and on all subjects he speaks much against going beyond the scriptures; though he equally condemns the willingly stopping short of what they reveal. He treats well of the use of terms not strictly scriptural. They are necessary (which he well illustrates,) to prevent the evasions of artful corrupters of the true doctrine: but, when this object is attained, he would contend no further about words.

Angels.

In c. xiv. (§ 13—20,) he collects together a striking mass of scripture testimony concerning Angels and Evil Spirits.

Knowledge of man as first created. Free will.

The xvth chapter treats of man as originally created, of the faculties of his soul, and of free will. He expressly maintains that man was originally "endued with free will, by which, if he had chosen, he might have obtained eternal life." Adam, he says, "fell merely by his own will." "He had received the power (of perseverance), if he had chosen to exert it; but

[1] c. xi. 12.

A. D. 1564.

The fall.

he had not the will to exert that power."—On the further question, if it could ever be proper to ask it, "Why God did not sustain Adam, so as to prevent his fall;" he wisely answers, The reason "remains concealed in the divine mind: but it is our duty to restrain our investigations within the limits of sobriety.... There is no excuse for our first parent: he received so much, that he was the voluntary procurer of his own destruction." "The Creator was not bound to make man such that he could not, or would not ever sin." "He was under no necessity to give him any other than an indifferent yet mutable will (mediam atque etiam caducam); that from his fall he might educe matter for his own glory."[1] All "the darkness which overspread the minds of the philosophers on this subject," when they maintained that "man would not be a rational animal, unless he were endued with a free [unbiassed] choice of good and evil," arose, he observes, from their seeking "a complete edifice among ruins." "So far all had been well" with their reasoning, "had there been no change in man; of which as they were ignorant, it is not to be wondered at if they involved all in confusion." § 8.—The subject of the fall, (though this was not the place for discussing it,) he had previously observed, "must be so treated as to preclude all evasion," by which men might shift the blame from themselves, "and to vindicate the divine justice from every accusation." § 1.[2]

In this chapter occurs an expression which has been quoted against our author, to shew

[1] He has before said, (iv. 6,) If the reason of creation be inquired into, "we shall find the sole cause to be God's own goodness—bonitas."

[2] In general I avail myself, in my quotations, of Mr. Allen's

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Depravity.

the extreme to which he carries the doctrine of human depravity: "Whatever remains is but horrible deformity:"[1] as if he denied the existence of any thing respectable, any thing amiable, among unrenewed men. But it is an instance of the haste with which charges are often brought. He is actually in the passage going further than many would do, in allowing that somewhat of the image of God yet remains in man, at least in his rational and immortal nature: and it is not of fallen *human nature* that he is speaking when he designates it "horrid deformity;" but of this *remainder* of the divine image—shewing that he means no more than "shockingly disfigured." "Wherefore, though we allow that the image of God was not totally abolished and destroyed in him, yet was it so corrupted that whatever [of it] remains is but a shocking disfiguration"—of the original.[2] Accordingly his words are afterwards, in the same section, thus varied: "It was so corrupted and almost obliterated, that nothing

translation of the Institutes, comparing it however with the original, and not always adhering strictly to it.

[1] Allen's translation, § 4.

[2] "Quare, etsi demus non prorsus exinanitam ac deletam in eo fuisse Dei imaginem, sic tamen corruptâ fuit, ut quicquid superest horrenda sit deformitas."—That he did not allow this "remainder" of the original image merely for argument's sake, but really held it, is made evident by the context. Compare book II. ii. 12. In § 6 of the chapter which we are considering he observes, "There remain some relics of it impressed even in our very vices. From whence proceeds the great concern of men about their reputation, but from shame? But whence proceeds shame, unless from a respect for virtue?"—No writer better explains what is meant by the total depravity of human nature, and how it consists with the respectability and amiableness which we see in many "irreligious men," than Dr. Chalmers. Sermons at the Tron Church, &c.

remains from the ruin but what is *confused, mutilated,* and *defiled.*" A. D. 1564.

Doctrine of Providence.

The three last chapters of this book (xvi—xviii,) treat of God's providential government of the world. Confining ourselves for the present to the two former of them, we may say that they teach a sublime, and to the pious mind a delightful doctrine, and are among the most interesting in the whole work. They involve of course points which are to us incomprehensible: but yet I see not how any, who acknowledge that God's "never-failing providence ordereth all things in heaven and earth," can object to the general doctrine delivered; for that acknowledgment is the very sum and substance of it. The illustrations also which Calvin furnishes of the doctrine, and the manner in which he applies it to practical uses, are extremely beautiful.

Having laid down his doctrine of a providence superintending and directing every thing, he proceeds: This "providence of God, as taught in the scripture, is opposed to fortune, or fortuitous accidents.... If any one falls into the hands of robbers, or meets with wild beasts; if by a sudden storm he is shipwrecked on the ocean; if he is killed by the fall of a house or a tree; if another, wandering through deserts, finds relief for his penury, or after having been tossed about by the waves reaches the port, and escapes as it were but a hair's-breadth from death; carnal reason will ascribe all these occurrences, both prosperous and adverse, to fortune. But whoever has been taught from the mouth of Christ that *the hairs of his head are all numbered,* will seek further for a cause, and conclude that all events are governed by the secret counsel of God." xvi. 2.

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Fortune.

He is not anxious however to explode altogether the use of the term *fortuitous*, and others of like import, provided they be properly understood. "Chance," says Augustine, "is only that with the reason and cause of which we are not acquainted." "Notwithstanding the ordination of all things by the certain purpose and direction of God, yet *to us* they are fortuitous, ... for they present to us no other appearance. . . . . But, what to us seems a contingency, faith will acknowledge to have been a secret impulse of God." § 8, 9.

Fate.

"Those who wish to bring an odium on this doctrine," he says, "calumniate it as the same with the opinion of the Stoics concerning fate. . . . . Though we are averse to all contentions about words, yet we admit not the term *fate:*" and "that dogma is falsely and maliciously charged upon us. For we do not, with the Stoics, imagine a necessity arising from a perpetual concatenation and intricate series of causes contained in nature; but we make God the arbiter and governor of all things, who in his own wisdom hath from the remotest eternity decreed what he now by his own power executes." § 8.—He concludes that, though "what God decrees must necessarily come to pass, yet it is not by absolute or natural necessity:" and that "the distinctions of relative and absolute necessity, as well as necessity of *consequent* and necessity of *consequence*, were not without reason invented in the schools."[1] § 9.

In the next chapter he considers "the proper

[1] Of this distinction Erasmus wished to avail himself against Luther. Milner—Calvin compares the impossibility "that a bone of Christ should be broken," arising from the prediction, with the physical impossibility which would have been produced by the substance not being *frangible*.

application of the doctrine, to render it useful to us." And here he strikingly calls us to humility, submission, and confidence in the divine wisdom, in the contemplation of those dispensations of providence which are to us mysterious and perplexing. "We must proceed with modesty; cautious that we call not God to an account at our tribunal; but that we entertain such reverence for his secret judgments as to esteem his will the most righteous cause of every thing that he does. When thick clouds obscure the heaven and a violent tempest arises, because a gloomy mist is before our eyes, and thunder strikes our ears, and terror stupifies all our faculties, all things seem to us to be blended in confusion; yet during the whole time the heavens remain in the same quiet serenity. So it must be concluded that, while the turbulent state of the world deprives us of our judgment, God by the pure light of his own righteousness and wisdom regulates all those commotions in the most exact order, and directs them to their proper end." § 1.

A. D. 1564.

Submission and confidence in God.

He then proceeds in a very wise and pious manner to obviate the cavils of vain or wicked men against the doctrine of providence, and the abuse they would make of it, as if, 1. it must render prayer useless and means unnecessary; and 2. destroy the responsibility of man.

Objections answered.

1. On the former he says: "The eternal decrees of God form no impediment to our providing for ourselves, and disposing of all our concerns, in subservience to his will..... He who hath fixed the limits of our life hath also entrusted us with the care of it; hath furnished us with means and supplies for its preservation; hath also given us the foresight of dangers; and that they may not oppress

1. Providence does not supersede means.

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us unawares hath furnished us with cautions and remedies. Now it is evident what is our duty. If God hath committed to us the preservation of our life, we should preserve it; if he offers us supplies, we should use them; if he furnishes us remedies, we ought not to neglect them.—But it will be objected, 'No danger can hurt, unless it has been ordained that it *shall* hurt us, and then no remedies can avert it.' But what if dangers are therefore not fatal, because God hath assigned you remedies to repulse and overcome them? Examine whether your reasoning agrees with *the order* of divine providence.... The arts of deliberation and caution in men proceed from the inspiration of God, and by the use of them they *subserve* the designs of his providence in the preservation of their own lives; as, on the contrary, by neglect and slothfulness they procure to themselves the evils which he hath appointed them.....Folly and prudence are, each in its particular way, *instruments* of the divine dispensation.... We are to meet all future events as doubtful contingencies, (tanquam dubiis,) and not cease to oppose to them the remedies with which we are provided, till they shall have been surmounted, or shall have overcome all our diligence:" and then in each case we are to acknowledge God's providence as having fulfilled his purpose, by whatever means this was effected. "The providence of God does not always therefore present itself to us bare and uncovered, but clothed, as it were, with *the means* which he has appointed to be employed." § 4.

2. It does not destroy accountableness.

2. To the other objection, or abuse of the doctrine, that it destroys accountableness, seeing all fulfil the divine purposes, he thus

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replies: "I deny that evil men in their evil deeds serve the will of God. For we cannot say, that he who is influenced by a wicked heart acts in obedience to the commands of God, while he only gratifies his malignant passions. That man obeys God, who, being instructed in God's will, hastens whither God calls him. Where can we learn his will but in his word? Therefore in our actions we ought to regard that will of God which is declared in his word.[1] God only requires of us conformity to *his precepts*. If we do any thing contrary to them, it is not obedience, but contumacy and transgression.... Men are prevented from thus exculpating themselves, by the convictions of their own consciences." § 5.—In one sense, indeed all things fulfil the will, that is the purpose, of God: but in that sense we have nothing to do with his will, except to submit to it. In another sense, and that the only sense with which we are concerned in our conduct, every thing violates his will which is not conformable to his commands. To us the will of God is what he has *bidden us do:* not what he purposes himself to accomplish in the government of the world.[2]

[1] "In rebus agendis ea est nobis perspicienda, Dei voluntas, quam verbo suo declarat." The close resemblance of these words to the concluding sentence of our seventeenth Article will not be overlooked: "In our doings, that will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God."

[2] S. Augustine has a curious instance under this head: A bad son wishes the death of his father, while a good one desires his life: and it appears by the event to be the will (purpose) of God that he should die. Here the good son acts agreeably to the will of God in desiring what is not his will, (purpose,) and the bad one contrary to his will in wishing for what proves to be his will,—or rather his purpose.

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Uses of the doctrine of Providence.

"The pious and holy contemplation of providence," in the various uses to which the doctrine is to be applied, next follows, in six sections, and is so beautiful that with pleasure I could transcribe whole pages: but I must forbear, and content myself with a few more moderate specimens.

"The mind of a Christian, when it is certainly persuaded that all things happen by the dispensation of God, and that nothing happens by chance, will always direct its views to Him as the supreme cause of all things. At the same time it will consider inferior causes also in their proper order. He will not doubt that the particular providence of God is watchful for his preservation, never permitting any event which it will not overrule for his safety and advantage.... This is the principal scope of the biblical histories, to teach us that the Lord so sedulously defends the ways of the saints, that they may not even *dash their foot against a stone*... What more can we desire for ourselves, if not a single hair can fall from our heads but according to the will of our Father? .... The servant of God, encouraged by these promises and examples, will add the testimonies which inform us that all men are subject to his power, either to conciliate their minds in our favour, or to restrain their malice from being injurious..... The necessary consequences of this knowledge are, gratitude in prosperity, patience in adversity, and a wonderful security (or freedom from care) respecting the future. Every prosperous and pleasing event, therefore,

xviii. 3.—Calvin considers the misinterpretation of the principle that nothing happens contrary to the *will* of God, (because nothing defeats his *purpose*,) as the foundation of the errors of the Libertines. Op. viii. p. 386.

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the pious man will ascribe entirely to God, whether his beneficence be received through the ministry of men, or by the assistance of inanimate creatures. For this will be the reflection of his mind: 'It is certainly the Lord that hath inclined their hearts to favour me, that hath united them to me to be the instruments of his benignity towards me.' In an abundance of the fruits of the earth, he will consider, that it is the Lord who regards the heaven, that the heaven may regard the earth, that the earth also may regard its own productions:[1] in other things he will not doubt that it is the divine benediction alone which is the cause of all prosperity, nor will he bear to be ungrateful after so many admonitions. If any adversity befall him, in this case also he will immediately lift up his heart to God, whose hand is most capable of impressing us with patience and placid moderation of mind." §7, 8.—He appositely adduces the cases of Joseph's acknowledgment of God's disposal of things in the conduct of his brethren, Job's in that of the Chaldeans, and David's in that of Shimei.[2]—"The conclusion of the whole is this, that when we suffer injuries from men, forgetting their malice, which would only exasperate our grief and instigate our minds to revenge, we should remember to ascend to God, and learn to account it a certain truth, that, whatever our enemies have criminally committed against us, has been permitted and directed by his righteous dispensation.... Yet, at the same time, the pious man will not overlook inferior causes. Nor, because he accounts those from whom he

[1] Hosea ii. 21, 22.

[2] Gen. xlv. 7, 8. l. 20. Job i. 21. 2 Sam. xvi. 10.

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has received any benefits, the ministers of the divine goodness, will he therefore pass them by unnoticed, as though they deserved no thanks for their kindness; but will feel and readily acknowledge his obligation to them, and study to return it as ability and opportunity may permit. In fine he will reverence and praise God as the principal author of benefits received, but will honour men as his ministers; and will understand what indeed is the fact, that the will of God has laid him under obligations to those persons by whose means the Lord hath been pleased to communicate his benefits. If he suffer any loss either through negligence or through imprudence, he will conclude that it happened according to the divine will, but will also impute the blame of it to himself. If any one be removed by disease, whom while it was his duty to take care of him he has treated with neglect, though he cannot be ignorant that that person had reached those limits which it was impossible for him to pass, yet he will not make this a plea to extenuate his guilt; but, because he has not faithfully performed his duty towards him, will consider him as having perished through his criminal negligence.....He will rank it among the blessings of the Lord not to be destitute of human aids, which he may use for his own safety; ....but he will not place his confidence in external helps to such a degree as, if possessed of them, securely to rely on them, or, if deprived of them, to tremble as if he were left destitute. ...And, as he is uncertain respecting the issue of his undertakings, he studiously aims at what, according to the best judgment he can form, will be for his advantage....Thus Joab, though he acknowledges the event of battle to depend

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on the will and the power of God, yet surrenders not himself to inactivity, but sedulously executes all the duties of his office, and leaves the event to the divine decision. *Let us play the men,* he says, *for our people, and for the cities of our God: and the Lord do that which seemeth him good.*—This knowledge will divest us of temerity and false confidence, and excite us to continual invocations of God.... Herein is discovered the inestimable felicity of the pious mind. Human life is beset by innumerable evils, and threatened with a thousand deaths." He here makes an appalling enumeration of them, and proceeds: "Amidst these difficulties must not man be most miserable,... if he be subject to the dominion of fortune? On the contrary, when this light of divine providence has once shined on a pious man, he is relieved and delivered:... for, as he justly dreads fortune, so he dare securely commit himself to God.... You will easily perceive therefore, on reflection, that ignorance of providence is the greatest of miseries, but that the knowledge of it is attended with the highest felicity." § 6—11.

In the close of the chapter he considers the objections drawn from those passages of scripture which speak of God as repenting, or exhibit him as not performing what he had declared his intention to perform. The former he solves upon the principle, that God necessarily speaks to us in condescension to our conceptions: that therefore, as it has been not improperly expressed, in speaking of the Deity *affectus denotat effectus;* that, as in us "a change of actions" indicates a change of mind, or repentance, so, when God is pleased to change his conduct towards any one, he is said "to

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repent" of the past.[1]—Concerning the latter, as the cases of Nineveh and Hezekiah,[2] he says, in such instances "simple declarations contain in them *a tacit condition*." "The prediction of Jonah, that after forty days Nineveh shall fall, was uttered to prevent its fall." "God had some other object in view than to forewarn them of destruction—even to reform them, that they might not be destroyed." § 12—14.

God's use of evil agents.

In the remaining chapter (xviii,) the reader may probably find more to startle him, and some things which are really objectionable. It treats of the use which God makes of the agency of wicked men and wicked spirits in accomplishing his designs, though, it is added, "without the least stain upon his perfect purity." That Almighty God does overrule and even employ the actions of such agents to fulfil his most glorious purposes, no person acknowledging the divine government of the world, and looking either to scripture or to facts, can deny. Herod, and Pontius Pilate, and the people of Israel in conspiring against Christ, and delivering him to be crucified, did but accomplish "whatsoever God's hand and his counsel had before determined to be done," and by which even the redemption of the world was effected. "Howbeit they meant not so:" and therefore their "hands," and their hearts too, were no less "wicked" in crucifying and slaying the Saviour, than if he had not been "delivered by the determinate counsel and

[1] He adduces Gen. vi. 6. 1 Sam. xv. 11. Jer. xviii. 8, and compares with them 1 Sam. xv. 29, (which occurs in near connexion with one of the preceding passages,) and Num. xxiii. 19.

[2] Jonah iii. 4, 10. Isai. xxxviii. 1, 5. 2 Kings xx. 1, 5.

foreknowledge of God,"[1] and no such end had been answered by his death. God's goodness did not diminish their guilt: and certainly he used their agency "without the least stain upon his perfect purity." But *how* these things are so; especially in what manner and by what means the Most High thus controls, and overrules and directs the actions of all beings to fulfil his designs, without infringing their freedom and diminishing their accountableness, and without being in the remotest degree accessory to their sins; this "passeth man's understanding:" we know it not, and, we need not hesitate to say, in our present state we cannot know it.—Had Calvin contented himself with this statement of the subject, he would have avoided every thing against which just exception can be taken, and said nothing, we conceive, but what would have had the concurrence of all good men. But, while, as his very title indicates, he repels from the Almighty every insinuation of his being the author of men's sins, yet he uses language which describes something coming so near to this, that it seems impossible for *us* to vindicate it from the charge of implying it. On the ground that an "uninfluential permission"[2] affords no adequate account of what takes place;[3] and that scripture uses much stronger language; (as where it speaks of the Lord's "hardening Pharaoh's heart," or using the Assyrian as "the rod of his anger;") he scruples not to speak of God's "inclining and drawing, according to his pleasure, Satan and all the reprobate;"

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[1] Acts ii. 23. iv. 28. Isa. x. 7.

[2] Allen. Otiosus permissus. § 3.

[3] "An actual" (rather *influential*) "volition: otherwise it could never be considered as a cause." I. xvi. 8. II. iv. 3.

"exciting them by his influence;" "impelling them by his positive appointment;" nay even "compelling their compliance."

Such language is certainly most objectionable and repulsive: and it conveys the very erroneous idea, (erroneous in Calvin's view as much as in our's,) that the agents concerned are *reluctant* to the part they act; that they *wish* and even *strive* to do otherwise, but *cannot:* they are "compelled." His language is, no doubt, more obnoxious than his meaning, for he condemns the confounding of "necessity with compulsion;" and in this very part of his writings rejects as absurd the supposition, that "man's being actuated by God is incompatible with his being at the same time active himself."[1]

And what are the grounds of these obnoxious representations? First, a latent wish to account for more than we are capable of accounting for: but, secondly and chiefly, an overstrained interpretation of scriptural language. This I take to be the principal fault of the chapter: and in Calvin it excites our surprise. His declaration, that "God himself, by the most unequivocal declarations, rejects" the subterfuge of a more moderated explanation of the terms of scripture, reminds us of Luther's silencing every inquiry into the meaning of scripture concerning the presence of Christ in the eucharist, by vociferating the words, "This is my body." Scripture must be compared with scripture, to ascertain the true meaning in which apparently conflicting passages will meet and harmonize. We must not, for example, so interpret the language in question, as to make it clash with that sentence in which S. James

[1] II. iii. 5. I. xviii. 2.

manifestly propounds the general doctrine of scripture, "God cannot be tempted of evil, *neither tempteth he any man*"—a sentence to which it is remarkable that Calvin should not have referred in the whole of this discussion. Had he only proceeded here upon the same sound principles as he had adopted at the close of the preceding chapter, in explaining God's "repentance," and forbearing to inflict the evils which he had denounced, then, though he would not have resolved all into "bare permission," yet neither would he have judged it proper to employ language which makes God to punish that which he himself has prompted, or even "compelled." A. D. 1564.

We proceed to Book II. As preparatory to the knowledge of GOD OUR REDEEMER, (the subject of this book,) the first five chapters treat on the knowledge of Man as a Sinner: on the Fall, Original Sin, the Servitude of the Will, the Corruption and Condemnation of Mankind, and the Operation of God on the hearts of men. Book II. Knowledge of God the Redeemer, and of man as a sinner.

In the chapter on Original Sin, some readers may be surprised to find little or nothing on that which certain writers make very prominent, the imputation of the guilt of Adam's transgression, considered as somewhat distinct from the transmission of depravity, and even as the cause of that (penal) transmission. Calvin rather confines himself, as our ninth Article also does, to two points—depravity derived from Adam, and the criminality of that depraved state of heart, even independently of the sinful actions to which it gives birth.[1] He even says, Adam precipitated our nature into destruction, Original sin, or depravity.

[1] See above, vol. i, 31, 32.

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"not by his personal guilt as an individual,[1] which pertains not to us, but because he infected all his descendants with the corruption into which he had fallen." And again: "We are on account of this very corruption considered as convicted and justly condemned in the sight of God, to whom nothing is acceptable but righteousness, innocence, and purity. And this liability to punishment arises not from the delinquency of another,...as if we, though innocent, were deservedly loaded with the guilt of his sin:...we derive from him not only the punishment, but also the pollution to which the punishment is justly due." Therefore infants "are obnoxious to punishment by their own sinfulness, not by the sinfulness of another." This depravity "is properly accounted *sin* before God, for there could be no guilt (reatus) without crime (culpa)."[2]

He defines original sin, therefore, "the depravation of a nature previously good and pure:" § 5: "an hereditary pravity and corruption of our nature, diffused through all the parts of the soul, rendering us obnoxious to God's wrath, and producing in us those works which the scripture calls works of the flesh." He objects not to defining it "a privation of original righteousness," or to styling it "concupiscence;" if under the former description it be remembered that our nature is "fertile in all evils," as well as "destitute of all good;" and if the latter term be so construed as to

[1] Allen. "Sui unius vitio."

[2] II. i. 6, 8. Mr. Allen's translation is hardly sufficiently distinct upon this subject. I have observed *labes*, *culpa*, *vitium*, *reatus* all alike translated *guilt*. In the last-cited passage, "He is therefore said to have involved us in guilt" is, in the original, simply, "Dicitur ille nos obstrinxisse."

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extend the corruption to all the faculties, and not to confine it to one only. § 8. He much approves of a sentence of S. Augustine's, that "the natural talents were corrupted by sin, but the supernatural ones"—the graces of the Spirit—"wholly taken away:" a sentence which he says had been "proclaimed by every tongue," though of its import "scarcely one man in a hundred had any idea." ii. 4, 12.

On the extent of human corruption, some strong expressions occur, such as "their whole nature is as it were a seed of sin"—"man is of himself nothing but concupiscence:" (though even these fall short of those in our Homilies:) but in general his doctrine is not immoderately strong. "The cause of the contagion is not," he observes, "in the substance of the body or of the soul:" whence the questions with which the Fathers perplexed themselves, concerning the propagation of souls is superfluous. "We ought to be satisfied with this, that the Lord deposited with Adam the endowments he chose to confer on the human nature; and that therefore, when Adam lost the favours he had received, he lost them not only for himself but for us all." i. 7. "Let us remember," he says, "that it is a *corruption* of nature, that we may not charge it upon God as the author of nature. ... It is clear that the misery of man must be ascribed solely to himself, since he was favoured with rectitude by the divine goodness, but has lapsed into vanity through his own folly. We say therefore that man is corrupted by a *natural* depravity, but one which did not *originate from nature*. We deny that it *proceeded from nature*, to signify that it is rather an adventitious quality or accident, than a substantial property, originally innate. Yet we call it *natural*, that

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no one may suppose it to be contracted by every individual from corrupt habit, whereas it prevails over all by hereditary right." § 10, 11.

The will.

On fallen man's "deprivation of free will and subjection to a miserable servitude," (c. ii.) allowing his general doctrine, that we have lost all inclination to *spiritual* good[1]—every thing that would either dispose us to seek or enable us to attain it, "without the grace of God by Christ preventing us"—his statements cannot be styled immoderate. We have here none of those excessively strong and revolting expressions which occur in the early writings of Luther and Melancthon: nothing of their denial of free will to creatures, as such, on account of the all-controlling agency of the Creator.[2]

Doctrine of the Philosophers,

He states very luminously the doctrine of the philosophers—that the *will* is unbiassed alike to good or evil; that *reason* urges it to good, while *sense* solicits it to evil; and that, according as the suggestions of the one or the other are followed, the man is virtuous or vicious. (§ 2, 3.)

the Fathers;

That of the fathers follows, too much (with the exception of S. Augustine,) conformed to the other. "If we wait to discover the sentiments of the fathers on this subject," he says, "we shall fluctuate in perpetual uncertainty." Though however they were tempted "to compromise between the doctrine of the scriptures and the dogmas of the philosophers," (who knew nothing of man's original rectitude and his fall from it,) in order that they might not "incur their derision" in contending with them; (§ 4;) still he "ventures to affirm that

[1] "It is acknowledged that man has not the disposition, and consequently not the ability, to do *what in the sight of God is good*, till he is influenced by the Spirit of God." Bishop Tomline, Ref. of Calv. p. 61.

[2] Above, p. 507.

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. . . their design was," on the whole, "to teach man to discard all reliance on his own power, and to consider all his strength as residing in God." § 9. "Succeeding writers, being every one for himself ambitious of the praise of subtilty in the defence of human nature, gradually and successively fell into opinions more and more erroneous; till at length man was commonly supposed to be corrupted only in his sensual part, but to have his will in a great measure, and his reason entirely unimpaired." § 4.—Lombard however "pronounces, that we are not therefore (on this account) possessed of free-will, because we have an equal power to do or to think good and evil, but only because we are free from constraint. Which liberty is not diminished, although we are corrupt, and the slaves of sin, and capable of doing nothing but sin." § 6.

and the Schoolmen.

In this explanation he would readily agree: for he constantly teaches us to distinguish between even necessity and constraint.[1] "Then man," he says, "will be said to possess free will in this sense, not that he has an equally free (unbiassed) election of good and evil, but because he does evil voluntarily and not by constraint. That indeed is very true: but what end could it answer to decorate a thing so diminutive with so superb a title? Egregious liberty indeed, if man be not compelled

[1] "A distinction has prevailed in the schools which enumerates three kinds of liberty; the first, freedom from necessity; (constraint;) the second, freedom from sin," or corrupt inclination; the third freedom from misery: of which the first is *naturally inherent in man, so that nothing can ever deprive him of it;* the other two are lost by sin. *This distinction I readily admit, except that it improperly confounds necessity with coaction*"—the "difference" between which two things is "wide." § 5.

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to serve sin, but yet is such a willing slave, that his will is held in bondage by the fetters of sin!" And in this view he says further, "Therefore, if any man allow himself the use of this term (free will) without any erroneous signification, he will not be troubled by me on that account: but, because I think it cannot be retained without great danger, and that on the contrary its abolition would be very beneficial to the church, I would neither use it myself, nor wish it to be used by others who may consult my opinion."[1] § 7, 8.

Exhortations, and duty of exertion.

For the sake of introducing a striking sentence on the subject of exhortations and exertion, we recur for a moment to the case of the fathers. Though Calvin supposes them to have paid an undue deference to the philosophers with whom they had to contend, yet he thinks that, in what they said of "human powers," they were principally influenced by the fear of "administering to the flesh a fresh occasion of slothfulness." § 4. Here, he observes, we are exposed to danger on every side. "For, when man is declared to be destitute of rectitude, he immediately makes it an occasion of slothfulness; and, because he is said to have no power of him-

[1] To many readers the careful consideration of these sentences may afford much light on the *meaning* of the question at issue. When they hear liberty denied to the will, they suppose it to be asserted, that the will is under the control of some external influence which it cannot resist though it would. The thing to be denied is its freedom, not from external influence, (that is allowed,) but from internal bias—a bias to evil inherent in itself since the fall. The liberty intended is not the absence of constraint, (which all possess,) but the absence of evil inclination. But man, alas! is "of his own nature inclined unto evil:" (Art. ix :) therefore he is in bondage—for sin is slavery, and righteousness alone deserves the name of liberty. These are the principles really involved in the question.

self for the pursuit of righteousness, he totally neglects it, as though it did not at all concern him. On the other hand he cannot arrogate any thing to himself, be it ever so little, without God being robbed of his honour, and himself being endangered by presumptuous temerity. Therefore, to avoid striking on either of these rocks, this will be the course to be pursued; that man, being taught that he has nothing good left in his possession, and being surrounded on every side with the most miserable need and want, (*necessitate,*) should nevertheless be instructed *to aspire to the good of which he is destitute, and to the liberty of which he is deprived; and should be roused from indolence with more earnestness than if he were supposed to be possessed of the greatest strength. The necessity of the latter is obvious to every one.*"—Would to God that it were obvious even to all Calvin's professed admirers! § 1. A. D. 1564.

Man's attainments in natural knowledge.

In the remainder of the chapter, he first makes even a splendid display of what the rational powers and ingenuity of man have been able to attain, in "civil polity, domestic economy, the mechanical arts, and the liberal sciences:" concluding with this observation, "Let us learn from such examples how many good endowments (bona) the Lord has left to the nature of man, even since it has been despoiled of what is truly good.—Yet we must not forget that these are most excellent gifts of the Divine Spirit, which for the common benefit of mankind he dispenses to whomsoever he pleases.... For, when the Spirit of God is said to dwell only in the faithful, that is to be understood of the Spirit of sanctification, by whom we are consecrated as temples to God himself." § 13—17.

in divine knowledge.

He then proceeds to consider what knowledge man, unassisted by revelation and the illumination of the Spirit of God, can acquire in divine things: and he concludes it to be nothing conducive to salvation. Yet on John i. 13, "The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not," he says, It "indicates that the soul of man is irradiated with a beam of divine light, so that it is never wholly destitute of some little flame, or at least spark of it: but it likewise suggests, that the mind cannot comprehend God by that illumination. § 19.—On the gentiles "shewing the work of the law written in their hearts," (Rom. ii. 14, 15,) he remarks, "If they have naturally the righteousness of the law engraven on their minds, we certainly cannot say that they are altogether ignorant how they ought to live." But "you must not imagine, that this universal judgment in man to discriminate good and evil is every where sound and perfect." § 22, 24. "The natural man," he adds, "cannot be brought to acknowledge the disorders of his inward affections.... When the philosophers represent the inordinate affections of the mind as vices, they intend those which appear and manifest themselves in the grosser external actions; but those corrupt desires which more secretly stimulate the mind they consider as nothing. § 24.

All our natural works deserve condemnation.

The next chapter, (c. iii.) offensive as the declaration of its title may be to some, "That nothing proceeds from the corrupt nature of man which is not worthy of condemnation," we must pronounce good, and free from any thing extravagant or extreme. The grounds of the position are explained; that "the carnal mind is enmity against God;" that "the chief

branch of rectitude is wanting, where there is no concern to display the glory of God;" of which principle all are destitute whom God hath not regenerated by his Spirit: and that where the right principle is wanting nothing can be "good in the sight of God." § 1, 4. A. D. 1564.

The social virtues of natural men, even of heathens, are admitted: (Camillus as contradistinguished to Cataline is his example:) and he even declares them to be "not the common properties of nature, but the peculiar graces of God, which he dispenses in great variety, and in a certain degree to men that are otherwise profane"—not meaning however by "special graces" in this connexion "the sanctification of the Spirit," but only gifts and endowments bestowed by him. These will be commended by men, and prove useful to society, but, wanting the right principle of regard to God, "they will possess no value before the celestial tribunal to merit the reward of righteousness." § 4. Natural virtues.

The beginning of all that is truly good therefore must be from God, who has promised "to give us a new heart and a right spirit." Calvin is far however from thinking, like some moderns who pretend to tread in his steps, that "to take away the heart of stone, and to give us the heart of flesh," means to leave the old heart as hard and corrupt as ever, but to add another along with it in the same breast, (as if man could really possess two souls of opposite natures, instead of one soul in which opposite inclinations may contend together, the one being weakened as the other gathers strength:) for he says, "In his elect the Lord *heals* these maladies" of evil passions, while in others he only "restrains them;" (§ 3.) and accordingly Depravity "corrected and healed" by grace.

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he proceeds to consider, as a distinct head, "the remedy of divine grace, by which *the depravity of nature is corrected and healed.*" § 6.

Necessity consistent with free agency, and with virtue and vice.

In this chapter he is led again to speak of that "necessity of sinning" to which man in such a state is reduced; and again to distinguish it from compulsion.—"Simply to will belongs to man; to will what is evil, to corrupt nature; to will what is good, to grace."[1] "To assert that the will, being deprived of liberty,[2] is necessarily drawn or led to evil.... offends those who know not how to distinguish between necessity and compulsion. But, if any one should ask them, whether God is not necessarily good, and whether the devil is not necessarily evil; what answer will they make? For there is such a close connexion between the goodness of God and his divinity, that his deity is not more necessary than his goodness. But the devil is, by his fall, so alienated from communion with all that is good, that he can do nothing but what is evil. But, if any one should sacrilegiously object, that little praise is due to God for his goodness, which he is constrained to preserve: shall we not readily reply, that his inability to do evil arises from his infinite goodness, and not from any violent (external) impulse? Therefore, if a necessity of doing well impairs not the liberty of the divine will in doing well; if the devil, who cannot but do evil, nevertheless sins voluntarily; who then will assert that man sins less voluntarily, because he is under a necessity of sinning?... We must therefore observe this grand point of distinction, that man, having

[1] These are probably Bernard's words.

[2] Moral liberty: above, p.526.

been corrupted by his fall, sins voluntarily, not with reluctance or by constraint; with the strongest propensity of disposition, not from violent coercion; with the bias of his own passions, and not from external compulsion." § 5.[1] A. D. 1564.

Here also he treats of COOPERATION; which he rejects in the sense of nature cooperating with grace; any thing in fallen, unrenewed man conspiring with the grace of God; itself choosing, seeking, and preparing the heart for divine influences; ("as if," says he, "grace did not produce the will itself," Phil. ii. 13:) but admits it," if it be meant that, after having been once subdued by the divine power to the obedience of righteousness, we voluntarily advance, and are disposed to follow the guidance of grace.... For it is very certain that, where the grace of God reigns, there is such a promptitude of obedience." § 11. Cooperation.

That he has no such meaning however, as that man is wrought upon like a mere machine, is made evident (if proof could be wanted,) by his remark on Augustine. "When he observes," says Calvin, "that the will is not taken away by grace, but only changed from a bad one into a good one, and, when good, is assisted; he only intends, that man is not drawn in such a manner as to be carried away by an external impulse, without any inclination of his mind; but that he is *internally so disposed as to obey from his very heart.*" § 14. Man no mere machine.

We add a few short sentences, the first of them our author's own, the others quoted by him from Augustine.

[1] So again with respect to obeying the influence of Satan. c. iv. 1.

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Sentences of Calvin and Augustine.

"Men are to be taught that the divine benignity is free to all who seek it, without any exception: but none begin to seek it, but those who have been inspired by heavenly grace." § 10.

"Grace is not merely offered by the Lord, to be either received or rejected according to the free choice and the will of the heart; but it is grace which produces both the choice and the will of the heart." § 14.

"The good will of man precedes many of the gifts of God, but not all: but that which (thus) precedes is itself one of the number." § 12.[1]

"Mercy prevents the unwilling, that he may will: it follows the willing, that he may not will in vain." § 12.

"The human will obtains not grace by liberty, but liberty by grace." § 14.

From the fourth chapter, on "the operation of God," and it should have been added of Satan also, "in the hearts of men,"—in which there is some approach to the same objectionable language noticed in the final chapter on Providence—I shall scarcely do more than present a single extract.—Having explained that, "when the will of a natural man is said to be subject to the power of the devil, so as to be directed by it, the meaning is, not that it resists, and is compelled to a reluctant submission," but that it voluntarily, though "necessarily," complies; he adds: "The blinding of the wicked, and all those enormities which attend it are called the works of Satan; *the cause of which must nevertheless be sought only in the*

Influence of Satan.

[1] "Quæ autem precedit ipsa, in eis et ipsa est." I find no intelligible meaning in Mr. Allen's rendering: "But of those which it precedes it is itself one."

[2] Church Art. x.

human will, from which proceeds the root of evil." § 1. A.D. 1564.

External impediments affect not the freedom of the will.

The following observation is not always duly attended to. "The ability of the human will is not to be estimated from the *event* of things. Some ignorant men... conceive themselves fully and ingeniously to establish the servitude of the will, because even the most exalted monarchs have not all their desires fulfilled." But "the question is not" concerning "external impediments," but concerning the internal operations of the mind—whether "the judgment" is uncorrupt, and "the will" unbiassed. § 8.

Answers to objections.

The last of these chapters, preparatory to the introduction of the subject of redemption, professes to refute the objections urged in support of free will, whether from reason or scripture: 1. That sin, if necessary is not criminal, and if voluntary is avoidable: 2. That if the will is not free man is not the proper subject of reward or punishment: 3. That on the same supposition the exhortations, precepts, and reproofs of scripture are useless and misplaced.

1. Necessity destroys not criminality.

His answer to the first of these arguments must be already sufficiently known to the reader. The necessity arises not from external compulsion but from inward inclination. Yet it is complete: for that inclination is the want of will, not to say of power, to correct itself.—It is also "the *corruption* of nature:" not nature itself as God made it. § 1.

2. Supersedes not rewards and punishments.

On the second, Sin being voluntary is justly punishable: and as to rewards, "they depend rather on the divine benignity than on our merits." "God crowns not our merits but his own gifts," says S. Augustine. "Because he makes them ours, he rewards them, just as if

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they were our own virtues." § 2. So also, § xv: "We are not without reason said to do those things, the praise of which God justly claims to himself: first, because whatever God does in us becomes ours by his benignity;... secondly, because the understanding is ours, the will ours, the effort ours, which are all directed by him to that which is good."

3. Nor precepts, and exhortations.

Their use and importance.

On the third, it is sufficient to say, that these are the means by which God is pleased to work upon the minds of men to accomplish his purposes. "Their principal utility," he says, "should be considered in regard to the faithful, in whom as the Lord performs all things by his Spirit, so he neglects not the instrumentality of his word, but uses it with great efficacy.... If it be his will to prepare us by exhortation for the reception of his grace, by which obedience to the exhortation is produced, what have you to censure in this economy?" § 5.—But he does not confine the use of exhortations, precepts, and reproofs to those who are already "pious." They are *God's means* of awakening the careless, converting the sinner, and leaving the impenitent "without excuse." He cites the examples of scripture for thus addressing men. "We are not alone in this cause, but have the support of Christ and all the apostles. Let our opponents consider how they will obtain the superiority in a contest with such antagonists. Does Christ, who declares that *without him we can do nothing*, on that account the less reprehend and punish those who without him do what is evil? Does he therefore relax in his exhortations to EVERY MAN to practise good works?" Again: "Though he pronounces that *no man can come to him except the Father draw him*, and that the elect come when they

Scriptural example and authority.

have *heard and learned of the Father;* yet himself neglects not the office of a teacher, but with his own mouth *sedulously invites* those, who need the internal teachings of the Holy Spirit to enable them to derive any benefit from his instructions." "S. Paul," again, "in his epistle to the Romans declares, that *it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth,* but of God that sheweth mercy: yet afterwards he refrains not from the use of admonition, exhortation, and reproof. Why do they not therefore remonstrate with the Lord, not to lose his labour in such a manner, by requiring of men those things which he alone can bestow, and punishing those things which are committed for want of his grace? Why do they not admonish Paul to spare those who are unable to will or run without the previous mercy of God, of which they are now destitute? As though truly the Lord had not the best reason for his doctrine, which readily presents itself to those who religiously seek it." § 4, 5. A. D. 1564.

These passages may have been originally addressed to objectors of a different class from those for whose sake especially they are here cited: but they contain the true and irrefragable argument by which the case ought to be decided, and the conduct of teachers governed. "What is written, how readest thou?" "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God:"[1]—as they *do* speak, not as we might imagine, from some of their principles, that they *must* speak. Surely this rule ought to govern the conduct of every humble and pious instructor. He ought to resolve to copy, as far as possible, *the practice* of our Lord, and of the

1. May the author be excused in referring to "Two Discourses" of his own on that text?—printed for Seeley &c.

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prophets, apostles, and other inspired teachers, whether they can *see the consistency* of that practice with some doctrines which they taught or not. If he follows the contrary course, let him beware: he is treading close on the ground of those who deny the deity of Christ, for instance, because they see not how it can be reconciled with the declaration, "The Lord our God is one Lord."

Precepts not adjusted to the ability of fallen man.

With respect more particularly to *precepts* he says: "Our adversaries derive their principal argument from the precepts; which they suppose to be so proportioned to our ability, that, whatever they can be proved to require, it necessarily follows that we must be capable of performing." On this he says, "To represent the ability of man as coextensive with the divine law has indeed been for a long time not unusual, and has some appearance of plausibility: but it has proceeded from the grossest ignorance of the law. For those, who think it an enormous crime to say that the observation of the law is impossible, insist... that otherwise the law was given in vain." For they argue just as if S. Paul had never said any thing concerning the law. But pray what is the meaning of these expressions: *The law was added because of transgressions; By the law is the knowledge of sin;* The law *maketh sin exceeding sinful; The law entered that the offence might abound?* [1] Do they imply a necessity of its being limited to our ability, that it might not be given in vain? Do not they rather shew that it was placed far beyond our ability, in order to convince us of our impotence?" § 6.—"As far as relates to

[1] Gal. iii. 19. Rom. iii. 20. vii. 13. v. 20. (Qu. Add Rom. viii. 3.)

the present argument, the law, when it has prescribed any thing to be performed by us, teaches that the power of obeying proceeds from the goodness of God; and therefore invites us to pray that it may be given us.... The commands are connected with promises, which declare that we must derive not only subsidiary power, but our whole strength, from the assistance of divine grace.... Wherefore let them no more urge the proportion of our ability to the precepts of the law, as though the Lord had regulated the standard of righteousness, which he designed to give in the law, according to the measure of our imbecility.... But will it, say they, be credited by any, that the Lord addressed his law to stocks and stones? I reply that no one will attempt to inculcate such a notion. For neither the impious are stocks or stones, when they are taught by the law the contrariety of their dispositions to God, and are convicted of guilt by the testimony of their own minds; nor the pious, when, admonished of their own impotence, they have recourse to the grace of God." So Augustine: "God gives commands which we cannot perform, that we may know what we ought to ask of him... Faith obtains what the law commands; and the law for this reason commands, that faith *may* obtain what is commanded by the law. Moreover God requires faith itself of us, and finds not what he requires, unless he has given what he finds." And again: "Let God give what he enjoins, and (then) let him enjoin what he pleases." § 7. A. D. 1564.

The seventh chapter, on the Law, treats largely (§ 6—15,) on its threefold use, 1. To convince of sin; 2. To restrain men by the fear of its penalties; and 3. and principally, to instruct and excite the believer in his various The law and its uses.

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duties: and also on the senses in which it is or is not abrogated.

A rule of life.

Having explained the twofold use of the law to the believer, comprised in the third of the above heads, (§ 12.) he says: "Some unskilful men ... rashly explode Moses altogether, and discard the two tables of the law; because they consider it improper for Christians to adhere to a doctrine which contains the administration of death. FAR FROM US BE THIS PROFANE OPINION; for Moses has abundantly taught us that the law, which in sinners can only produce death, ought to have a better and more excellent use in the saints.... For, if no one can deny that the law exhibits a perfect model of righteousness, either we ought to have no RULE for an upright and just life, or it is criminal for us to deviate from it (the law). For there are not many RULES OF LIFE, but one, which is perpetually and immutably the same..... Now, because the law in regard to the faithful has the force of an exhortation, not to bind their consciences with a curse,[1] but by its frequent admonitions to arouse their indolence, and reprove their imperfection; many persons, when they design to express this liberation from its curse, say that the law (I still speak of the moral law,) is abrogated to the faithful; not that it no longer enjoins upon them that which is right, but only that it ceases to be to them what it was before; no longer terrifying and confounding their consciences, condemning and destroying them. And such an abrogation of the law is clearly taught by Paul.... But let us accurately distinguish what is abrogated in the law, and what still remains in force."

[1] As it has where it is in force as a COVENANT, and not merely as a RULE.

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Our Lord's declaration Matt. v. 17, 18, "sufficiently proves that his advent will detract nothing from the observance of the law.... The doctrine of the law remains therefore inviolable, which by instruction, admonition, reproof, and correction forms and prepares us for every good work. The assertions of Paul respecting the curse evidently relate not to the instruction (institutionem) itself, but to the power of binding the conscience (constringendæ conscientiæ vigorem.)... He teaches us that we must be released from the bondage of the law, unless we would perish in misery under it. But what bondage? the bondage of that austere and rigid enaction which remits nothing from its strictest requirements, and permits no transgression to pass with impunity. To redeem us from this *curse*, Christ was *made a curse for us*:... that we might not be oppressed with a perpetual servitude which would keep our consciences in continual distress with the dread of death. At the same time this truth remains for ever unshaken, that *the law has sustained no diminution of its authority, but ought always to receive from us the same veneration and obedience.*" § 12—15.—So also in a subsequent part of his work he says: "Christ came to establish the law *as a rule for a holy life.*" IV. xvi. 15.—"The moral law is the true and eternal rule of righteousness, prescribed to men of all ages and nations who wish to conform their lives to the will of God." IV. xx. 15.

Thus decisively does this eminent divine, under whose name many delight to range themselves though they have taught a very different doctrine, insist on the perpetual obligation of the law as A RULE OF LIFE, to those

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very persons to whom as A COVENANT it is abrogated.

Christ has given no new law.

In the seventh section of the following chapter (c. viii.) he rejects the notion that Christ was the giver of a new law, "which supplied the deficiencies" of the old one. He pronounces it an opinion "in many respects very pernicious," particularly as "fixing an indignity upon the divine law." Christ "only restored the law to its genuine purity, by clearing it from the obscurities and blemishes which it had contracted from the falsehoods and the leaven of the Pharisees."

From this long chapter, of fifty-nine sections, which lays down rules for the interpretation of the law, and presents a copious exposition of the Ten Commandments, I shall not deem it necessary to offer any further extract. Suffice it to say, that it gives those views of the "spirituality and exceeding breadth" of the divine law which might be expected from our author, and which are suggested and sanctioned by our Lord's specimens of the interpretation of the commandments, in his sermon on the mount. All duties, he conceives, may be referred to one or other of the precepts of the decalogue thus rightly interpreted.

The nine remaining chapters of this book —on Christ as known under the law and the gospel; on the similarity of the Old Testament and the New, and the difference between them; on the necessity of Christ's becoming man, and his real humanity; on the union of the two natures in his person; on the prophetical, regal, and sacerdotal characters of Christ, and his execution of his office; and on his properly *meriting* salvation for us; need not detain us. They

have impressed me as, in general, rather dry discussions. A. D. 1564.

In the tenth chapter he has largely combated the dogma, which it seems was maintained by Servetus, that the Jews were a race "pampered by the Lord in this world, without the least hopes of a future immortality in heaven."

His eulogy of the Apostles' Creed in chapter xvi. may perhaps surprise some readers. "Thus far I have followed the order of the Apostles' Creed: because, while it comprises in a few words the principal points of redemption, it may serve to give us a distinct and separate view of those particulars respecting Christ which merit our attention. I style it the Apostles' Creed, but am not at all solicitous to know who was the composer of it. The ancient writers agree in ascribing it to the apostles; either from a belief that it was written and published by their common concurrence, or from an opinion that this compendium, being faithfully collected from the doctrine delivered by them, was worthy of being sanctioned by such a title. And, whoever was the author of it, I have no doubt that it has been publicly and universally received as a confession of faith from the first origin of the church, and even from the days of the apostles. Nor is it probable that it was composed by any private individual, since from time immemorial it has evidently been esteemed as of sacred authority by all the pious. But what we ought principally to regard is beyond all controversy; that it comprehends a complete account of our faith, in a concise and distinct order, and that every thing it contains is confirmed by decisive testimonies of scripture." § 18. The Apostles' Creed.

Such an attestation from a man of so great

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learning, and at the same time one who has been esteemed a bold innovator, must be allowed to carry great weight with it; and it may teach us to be thankful for a formulary, which during so many ages has taught so much important truth, rather than to wish, even by changes that might be real improvements, to sacrifice the authority which it derives both from its antiquity, and from the sanction of the high and venerable characters who, from the earliest ages, have agreed in adopting it as a summary of the Christian faith.

Book III. Work of the Holy Spirit.

In the Third Book, on the reception of the grace of Christ, and on its Benefits and Effects, the first two chapters treat of the Operation of the Holy Spirit, and of Faith: but not in a very interesting or very edifying manner. Too much seems to be attempted in scrutinising the operations of the mind, and those of God upon the mind; what he works in "the reprobate" and what only in "the elect." The perpetual recurrence of this language, where the former term, at least, is used in a sense in which it is confessedly not found in scripture,[1] becomes revolting in many parts of our author's writings.[2]

Faith.

His definition of faith is sufficiently complicated. "We shall have a complete definition of faith if we say, that it is a steady and certain knowledge of the divine benevolence towards us, which, being founded on the truth of the gratuitous promises, is both revealed to our minds, and confirmed in our hearts, by the Holy Spirit." ii. § 7. On the several parts of this definition he dilates through the remain-

[1] Scott's Answer to the Refutation of Calvinism, Works, vol. viii. p. 90, 150, 173.

[2] See c. ii. § 11, 12.

ing thirty-six sections or paragraphs of this chapter, or at least through the last twenty-nine of them. A. D. 1564.

Assurance.

We are surprised to meet, in a writer of Calvin's acuteness and accuracy, with such crude and inconsistent statements as the following: "*Boldness and access with confidence by the faith of him:* these words imply that we have *no right faith*,[1] but when we can venture with tranquillity into the divine presence. The boldness arises only from *a certain confidence* of the divine benevolence and *of our salvation*."[2] § 15.—"In short, no man is truly a believer, unless he be firmly persuaded that God is a propitious and benevolent father to him, and promise himself every thing from his goodness; unless he depend on the promises of the divine benevolence to him, and feel *an undoubted expectation of salvation*." "He is *no believer*, I say, who does not, from a firm reliance *on the security of his salvation, confidently triumph* over the devil and death." § 15, 16.—Alas! how many have cherished a high confidence who never were believers, but still "the servants of sin;" and how many have sighed for want of it, and been "made sad" by such passages as these, who were true believers, and shewed both their faith and their love "by their works!" It is needless to say that Calvin's scriptural proofs warrant no such conclusions as they are here brought to support.—It almost immediately follows: "But some one will object, that the experience of believers is

[1] Allen. "Non esse rectam fidem—that there is not a right faith."

[2] As if assurance "of the divine benevolence," and confidence of "our (own) salvation," were identical, or equivalent, or even inseparable!

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very different from this." And then he proceeds to describe admirably well, in four successive sections, the conflicts of such characters, and how their faith struggles with difficulties, seems at times overwhelmed by them, but finally emerges and triumphs. And this description he introduces by saying, "When we inculcate that faith OUGHT[1] to be certain and secure, *we conceive not of a certainty attended with no doubt*, or of a security interrupted by no anxiety.[2] § 17.—All this which is so suited to discourage the weak and tempted, and to buoy up the presumptuous in delusion, and which issues in such self-contradiction, arises from making that to be of the essence of faith which is not so. Faith, it is acknowledged, must rest wholly on the divine word, and cannot go one step beyond it: and yet it is immediately made to include, or even mainly to consist in, believing what is no part of that word—namely the fact of our own justification. And many even go the length of making this confidence of God's special favour to us, in particular, the indispensable and efficient cause of our reconciliation to God, and love of him—thus, as it has been justly observed, virtually superseding the regeneration of the Holy Ghost, and ascribing to another source what that essential change alone can produce. Implying also that the enmity of the human heart against God is enmity against a *mistaken notion* of him, and that it vanishes as soon as his true character and his mind towards us are discovered!

[1] But the proposition was, that there was "no right faith," where there was not this confidence. As if, as some one has said, no child could be acknowledged a human being who had not attained the full stature of a grown man!

[2] What is "a doubting certainty?" what, an "anxious security?"

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We cannot indeed have too much confidence of "the divine benevolence," in short of the fatherly mind of Almighty God towards us, from the moment we turn to him through our Lord Jesus Christ. But this does not include confidence of our being actually justified, or admitted into his *special* favour, *independently of the question of our turning to him.*—Never surely was a plain subject so perplexed as this has been by the various and conflicting statements of men.—I read the declarations of God's word, that he "willeth not the death of a sinner;" that he "waiteth to be gracious;" that he hath "so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son" for its redemption; that "all things are ready" in him; and that "him that cometh he will in no wise cast out." These very declarations, even previously to the question of actual personal acceptance, are sufficient to afford unspeakable relief and comfort to the awakened and perhaps alarmed mind. I believe them, then: *so believe them as to act upon them.* This is faith in the simplest acceptation of the term.—In consequence I "come" to Christ for the blessings of his salvation—to receive them "freely without money and without price:" "come to him, weary and heavy laden that he may give me rest." So immediate a consequence of crediting the testimony is this application for the blessing, that *scripture includes both under the common name of faith,* or believing in Christ.[1]—

Rise of assurance in the mind.

[1] Jo. vi. 35. Compare i. 12, 2 Tim. i. 12, Heb. vi. 18: where these and other corresponding acts of the mind are virtually identified with faith in Christ. It is by such illustrations, rather than by formal definitions, that scripture explains to us the nature and exercise of faith.—"There will be no absurdity if in the definition of faith we insist on its principal *effect,* and, as a *difference,* add to the *genus* that

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But let us proceed forward to the rise of *personal assurance*, or peace, repose, confidence of acceptance, in the mind. Assured by God's word of the blessedness of *all who come* to Christ, and *conscious that I myself now come* to him, I become satisfied of my own blessedness in him—"my conscience bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost." Thus I have "peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God." My confidence, as I proceed, becomes more and more confirmed, because I find that, having thus come, and continuing thus to come to Christ, I *have received, and do receive* from him blessings—"a new heart," victory over sin, liberty in the service of God—which evince to me that I "have not believed in vain." I associate not these gifts of Christ with Christ himself, as any addition to the *ground* of my hope towards God; but they are and must ever be *proofs* to me that my faith is not dead and worthless: that, while Christ is the only "foundation," I am "builded" upon him by a faith which shall never "make me ashamed."—In this manner sufficient provision is made for the encouragement of the awakened sinner even from the first; but provision also for the growing confidence of acceptance and salvation, that is the growing personal *assurance*, of the advancing believer. And he who would alter this course of things, and made confidence of personal safety the first and great thing in religion, I am more and more convinced, reverses God's

character which separates believers from unbelievers." Calvin, § 30, of this chapter. They who would strictly confine faith in Christ to the *credence of testimony* appear to me to seek a degree of simplicity which is not found in scripture, and which is disadvantageous rather than the contrary.

established order, and runs infinite risk of deluding the souls of men to their destruction. Consolation and joy, even of the most lively kind, are from time to time graciously vouchsafed to the repenting sinner, even from the time of his first coming to Christ; but settled and stable assurance gradually grows up in the mind of the Christian, as he goes forward in "the good ways of the Lord;" and is in all ordinary cases not otherwise to be attained.— It can never be *simply* faith, or believing any thing written in the word of God. It must always *combine* with this the consciousness of our own minds, as to our repentance of sin, coming to Christ for salvation, and surrender of ourselves to him. "The spirit of adoption beareth witness with our spirits that we are the children of God." The temper of dutiful children towards God, produced in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, proves that we *are* his children.[1]

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[1] We hear much in certain quarters of 'a *direct* witness of the Spirit,' with little discrimination as to the meaning of *direct* testimony.—When the Jews said, "If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly;" they demanded of our Lord a *direct* testimony of his Messiahship: when he answered, "The works that I do, they bear witness of me;" he referred them only to an *indirect* or *inferential* witness. Jo. x. 24, 25. And the same may be said of John's message and our Lord's reply, Matt. xi. 3—5. Again: when our Lord said to the penitent woman, Luke vii. 48, 50, and to one or two others to the same effect, "Thy sins are forgiven;" "Thy faith hath saved thee, go in peace;" he gave to those individuals a *direct* testimony to their forgiveness. *But nothing short of this is 'direct witness.'* On the other hand, when he taught Simon *to infer* the forgiveness of the same woman from her "loving much;" or when S. John says, "We know that we have passed from death unto life because we love the brethren," or, "Hereby do we know that we know him if we keep his commandments;" he refers us to an indirect, an inferential

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Doctrine of the reformers,

I am satisfied that neither Calvin nor the other reformers meant any thing inconsistent with these statements: and other parts of their writings evince this:[1] but they were driven,

evidence—yes, and to what we are challenged to produce, though nothing is of more constant recurrence—"moral changes of which our spirits can be conscious, as proofs of our pardon." And such is the testimony to which, with the exception of the few exempt cases already noticed, we are constantly referred in scripture.—Even the very term "bearing witness," in perhaps a majority of instances, especially where it is applied to Almighty God, signifies inferential and not direct testimony. See e. g. Acts xiv. 17. Heb. ii. 4. Exod. xxii. 13. Job xvi. 8. James v. 3. And in fact I believe such to be the "witness" spoken of in the passage specially dwelt on, Rom. viii. 16, as I have implied in the paraphrase given in the text.—Much indeed is said of the *double* witness there specified: "our spirit," or conscience "bearing witness," and "the Spirit bearing" a separate "witness." But this is all unfounded; and arises only from a want of proper notice of the use of the original word. "The Spirit," whether meaning the Holy Spirit of God, or that temper of mind ("the spirit of adoption,") which he has imparted, and *by which* he bears witness, is the *giver*, our conscience the *receiver* of the *one* testimony. See, in the original, Rom. ii. 15. ix. 1. Rev. xxii. 18: which, with the text in question, appear to be the only places where the compound word occurs in the New Testament.

[1] So, c. iv. § 22, he says, "Absolution is conditional, in such a way that the sinner may be confident that God is propitious to him, *provided he sincerely seeks* an atonement in the sacrifice of Christ, and *relies* upon the grace offered to him." What is this "sincerely seeking" and "relying" but that "coming to Christ" for the blessings of his salvation, which we have said scripture includes, along with crediting the testimony, under the common name of faith? And the consciousness of this, we see, is required to the "confidence that God is propitious," or actually reconciled, to the individual concerned.—Most true it is, as Calvin says in the chapter before us, (ii. 16.) that "we must not consider the promises of mercy, which the Lord offers, as true only to others, and not to ourselves; but rather make them our own by embracing them in our hearts." But then we "make them our own," not by taking for granted, merely on the ground of the "offers of mercy," that we are justified,

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by the very pernicious and antichristian doctrines of their opponents, at times to express themselves in a manner that has led to errors in the contrary extreme. To such antichristian doctrine Calvin refers in this chapter. "Hence," he says, "we may judge how pernicious that dogma of the schoolmen is, that it is impossible to decide concerning the favour of God towards us, any otherwise than from moral conjecture, as every individual *may deem himself not unworthy of it*." Here we are not referred to the fruits of faith merely as evidencing its genuineness, but to our own works as the meritorious ground of God's favour to us. Again: "God is propitious to us—*provided the purity of our life deserve it*." Well may Calvin say, that on such grounds we can ascertain God's favour to us "not even by a slight conjecture—ne tenui quidem conjecturâ." § 38.

and of their opponents.

The third chapter, which treats chiefly of Repentance, opens with the assertion, that "repentance not only immediately follows faith, but is produced by it;" and even that "those who imagine that repentance rather precedes faith than is produced by it, as fruit by a tree, have never been acquainted with its power!" § 1. He adds, "Yet, when we speak of faith as the origin of repentance, we dream not of any space of time which it employs in producing it; but we intend to signify, that a man cannot seriously apply himself to repentance unless he knows himself to be of God."[1] § 2. Now, combining this assertion of the priority of faith to repentance, with his doctrine of faith in-

Repentance.

but by "embracing them in our hearts;" or, in other words, receiving and acting upon them in the way that has been described.

[1] See close of the last paragraph but one.

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cluding the assurance of acceptance, (which is strongly enough implied again in the last sentence,) and at what other conclusion do we arrive, than that a man is both pardoned, and knows himself to be so, before ever he repents of his sins? However system may reconcile a man to such positions, they must ever be reputed erroneous, and even highly dangerous, by him who simply listens to the language of scripture, "Repent and be converted, THAT your sins MAY BE blotted out."

Priority of Repentance or Faith.

With respect to our author's doctrine of faith preceding repentance, we may observe, that it produces in him the habit, perhaps subjects him to the necessity, of reversing the scriptural order, "Repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ;" "Repent, and believe the gospel;" "Repent, and be baptized," (and thus avow your faith,) "every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins:" nay it even leads him to speak contemptuously, without assigning any sufficient reason for so doing, of what he terms "a superstitious attention" to this order of the words—an order which is constantly found in scripture, and was sanctioned by the appointment of the preparatory ministry of John the baptist, and by the method of S. Paul in the orderly and systematic epistle to the Romans. At the same time the apparently wide discordance, between our author and those who would advance a directly contrary position, concerning the priority of repentance to faith, may to a great degree be reconciled, as so many disputes might be, by observing the different senses of the same word. The latter class of persons mean by repentance a just sense of sin, hearty contrition for it, that *change*

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of mind with respect to it which the principal original word literally signifies. Without this we can feel no need of the Saviour, no real desire of his salvation; and can consequently exercise no true faith in him. But sometimes also the word is used for that *change of conduct*, in which the change of heart, if sincere, must issue: as when the apostle says, "Godly sorrow *worketh repentance:*" that is, in other words, repentance in the former sense produces repentance in the latter sense: a change of mind respecting sin leads to a change of conduct in forsaking it. And *this* is confessedly the fruit of faith in Christ, and cannot otherwise be achieved.—And that this is Calvin's sense of repentance is made evident by his formal definition, as well as by other passages. "I conceive," he says, "it may be justly defined to be, A true *conversion of our life* to God, proceeding from a sincere and serious fear of God, and consisting in *the mortification* of our flesh and of the old man, and in *the vivification* of the spirit." § 5. However complex this definition also may be, it abundantly evinces that for which it is here adduced.—Again he says: "In one word I apprehend repentance to be regeneration; the end of which is the restoration of the divine image within us.... And this restoration is not accomplished in a day or year; but, by continual and sometimes even tardy advances, the Lord destroys the carnal corruptions of his chosen, purifies them from all pollution, and consecrates them as temples to himself." [1] § 9.

[1] See also § 21: "In the *whole course of regeneration* we are justly styled *God's workmanship, created unto good works.*"—The full title of this chapter in the original is, "That we are regenerated by faith: and here of Repentance."

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In fine, the opening of § 20. would, I apprehend, fully meet and perhaps satisfy the wishes of those who apparently take an opposite ground to Calvin on this head. He there says, "Now as a hatred of sin, which is the *commencement of repentance*, is *our first introduction* to the knowledge of Christ"—that is, to faith in him —"who reveals himself to none but miserable and distressed sinners, who mourn and are heavy laden; who hunger and thirst, and are pining away with grief and misery &c." Here is all the repentance that any intelligent and sound divine contends for as preceding faith in Christ, and that expressly described as "our first introduction to the knowledge of Christ." Nay, and these very persons would allow that some general belief of scriptural truths, shewing the nature, evil, and danger of sin, must precede and lead the mind to this very "commencement of repentance," which "introduces to the knowledge of Christ."—So that they would move no controversy respecting the precedence of one or the other of these twin graces, but content themselves with the sound and salutary maxims, that "a true repentance is always a believing repentance, and a true faith always a penitent faith;" except when they see a precedence of the one to the other contended for, which they think contrary to the order of scripture and the reason of the case.[1]

The next chapter is on "the sophistry and jargon of the schools concerning Repentance:" and on "Confession and Satisfaction." —Our author treats well of confession, and allows more to ministerial absolution than would perhaps have been expected.

[1] I beg to refer to Works of the Rev. T. Scott, x. 242, 248—268, and Index, Art. *Repentance*.

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Power of the keys.

On the power of the keys he says: "The power of the keys is exercised in these three kinds of confession: either when the whole church implores pardon by a solemn acknowledgment of its transgressions; or when an individual, who by any remarkable crime has occasioned a common offence, declares his repentance; or when he who needs the assistance of the minister, on account of the disquietude of his conscience, discloses his infirmity to him." In the first, "it is no mean or trivial consolation to have Christ's ambassador present, furnished with the mandate of reconciliation, by whom they may have their absolution pronounced. Here the usefulness of the keys is deservedly celebrated, when this embassy is rightly performed, with becoming order and reverence.—So, when he, who had in some measure alienated himself from the church, is pardoned and restored to the unity of the brethren, how great a blessing does he experience, in knowing himself to be forgiven by them to whom Christ hath said, *Whosesoever sins ye shall remit on earth, they shall be remitted in heaven.*—Nor is private absolution less efficacious or beneficial, when it is requested by those who need a particular remedy for the relief of their infirmities." It will bring relief to the mind which general declarations fail of affording, "to hear this language of the gospel particularly directed to him, *Be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee.*" "But, when we are treating of the power of the keys, we must always be cautious, not to dream of any power distinct from the preaching (proclaiming) of the gospel.[1] . . . All the power of binding and

[1] See above, p. 209.

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loosing, which Christ hath conferred on the church, is inseparable from the word." § 14.

Confession of the Papists.

In our author's exposure of the popish doctrine, that sins, in order to their being pardoned, must be specifically confessed to a priest, the following striking passage occurs: "The souls of those who have been affected with any discoveries of God have been most cruelly tormented by this fatal delusion. First they called themselves to an account, they divided sins into boughs, branches, twigs, and leaves, according to the distinctions of these confessors; then they examined the qualities, quantities, and circumstances; and the business made some little progress. But, when they had advanced further they were surrounded on all sides by the sea and the sky, no port, no haven in prospect: the more they had passed over, the greater mass was always accumulating on their view. They beheld as it were lofty mountains rising before them, and no time or labour seemed to encourage the least hope of escaping. Thus they remained in extreme distress, and after all found it terminate in nothing but despair. Then the remedy applied by those cruel murderers, to alleviate the wounds which they had made, was, that every one should do *to the utmost of his ability.* But new cares again disturbed, and new agonies again excruciated, these miserable souls. 'I have not devoted sufficient time: I have not applied with proper diligence: I have omitted many things through negligence; and the forgetfulness which arises from negligence is inexcusable.' To assuage such pains other remedies were now added: 'Repent of your negligence: *if it be not too great* it will be forgiven.' But all these things cannot heal the wound; nor do they act

as alleviations of the malady.... This terrible injunction, therefore, is always pursuing them and resounding in their ears, 'Confess all your sins:' nor can that terror be appeased but by some certain consolation." § 17. A. D. 1564.

That "certain consolation" is found in the blessed proclamations of the gospel, "These things write we unto you that ye sin not; and if any man sin we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins:" "The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin:" If therefore we "confess our sins" to Him, (not to a priest,) "He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." And surely nothing can tend more forcibly to impress us with the value of that relief which the gospel brings to burdened consciences, (such as all have need to feel,) than this contrast of what man has pretended to build upon it, but by which he has actually subverted the whole.

The character of chastisements for sin which pious persons suffer in this world, as neither vindictive nor expiatory, is well explained in § 31. But here again we feel ourselves pained with hearing so much of the reprobate, and shocked with the representations made of the design of all temporal afflictions to them. No good is intended them in what they undergo.[1] Chastisements for sin.

[1] "Non ideo plectuntur (reprobi) quo ad meliorem mentem redeant, sed tantum ut Deum magno suo malo judicem et ultorem experiantur." "Quicquid enim afflictionum in præsenti vita sustinent impii nobis depingitur ceu quoddam inferorum atrium, unde æternam suam damnationem eminus jam conspiciunt: tantumque abest ut inde emendentur, aut fructum aliquem percipiant, ut potius talibus præludiis ad dirissimam, quæ tandem eos manet, gehennam apparentur." § 32, 33.

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Surely this constant recurrence to God's supposed *intentions* concerning a rejected part of mankind, rather than of the *declarations* or *addresses* which he makes to all in general, has, to those who can steadily admit the contemplation, a hardening and injurious tendency; and to others it must prove revolting or distressing in the highest degree. How different the language of scripture—"Not willing that any should perish!" Besides, who are the persons whose sufferings on earth are to be regarded in this dreadful light, either by themselves or others? They are utterly unknown till their final sentence has passed. In the mean time, those who have the least ground to do it will be the most ready to imagine themselves the persons to whom these dreadful representations apply. §. 31—33.

In chapter v. we have an indignant and just exposure of "Indulgences," followed by a rejection of "Purgatory," as "a pernicious fiction of Satan," which "makes void the cross of Christ, intolerably insults the divine mercy, and weakens and overturns our faith." §. 6.—"The principal sanctity," or good work, "of popery," he observes, "consists in *relieving the distresses of the dead.* But the scripture administers another consolation, far better and more substantial, when it declares, *Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord.*" § 10.

The Christian Life.

Chapters vi. to x. are on the Christian Life, Self-denial, bearing the Cross, Meditation of the future Life, the right use of the present Life and its supports. They proceed, says one of the writers who have provided analyses and other helps to the study of the Institutes, "on the acknowledged principle, that no one is a Christian, who is not influenced by an ardent love of holi-

ness." They may be read with edification and pleasure, but it will not be necessary to present any extracts from them. We may observe however that Calvin feels himself at liberty to use a more unrestricted phraseology, than many of his followers are willing to tolerate. We have before heard him speak of "absolution (or forgiveness) being *conditional:*"[1] and here again he says, "If" (and he assumes it to be the case,) "the Lord has adopted us as his sons *on this condition,* that we exhibit in our life an imitation of Christ." vi. 3. A. D. 1564.

Chapters xi. to xviii. treat of justification and the topics connected with it. He delivers the general doctrine of the reformers, and elaborately defends it against objections and perversions: but the discussion is mainly didactic and argumentative, and on the whole somewhat dry. He has one whole chapter however (c. xii.) under the following title, "A consideration of the divine tribunal necessary to a serious conviction of gratuitous justification;" and in it he makes just and important observations to the following effect: "It is easy for any one in the cloisters of the schools to indulge himself in idle speculations on the merit of works to justify men; but when he comes into the presence of God he must bid farewell to these amusements." And again: "In short this whole discussion will be uninteresting and useless, unless each one present himself as a criminal before the celestial Judge, and voluntarily prostrate and humble himself in deep solicitude concerning his own absolution." xii. 1. Justification

He of course maintains the forensic sense In what sense equivalent to pardon.

[1] Chap. iv. 22. Above, p. 548.

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of the term justification—that is, that it relates to our being absolved and treated as righteous, not to making us good and holy. He uses as synonimous for it "acceptance," "acquittal," "accounting righteous," the "imputation of righteousness," and other like phrases. (xi. 2, 3, 4.) Sometimes he seems absolutely to confine it to remission of sins; as if he would deny its including restoration to the divine favour, and what has been called "a title to heaven." The following passages have been cited to prove that such was really his intention. "In Romans iv, S. Paul first mentions an imputation of righteousness, and immediately represents it as consisting in remission of sins. *David*, says he, *describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works*, &c. He there indeed argues not concerning a branch, but the whole of justification.... Whence it appears, that this righteousness of which he speaks is simply opposed to guilt." xi. 4. Again: "Where Paul says, that David *describeth the blessedness*, &c. —is this a complete definition or a partial one? Certainly Paul does not adduce the testimony of the Psalmist, as teaching that pardon of sins is a *part* of righteousness, or *concurs* to the justification of man; but he includes the whole of righteousness in a free remission." xi. 11. So also § 22. But we must observe what he is here opposing. In the former passage he is contending against the doctrine of the schoolmen, who "comprehend, (he says,) under the term justification, that *renovation* in which we are renewed by the Spirit of God to an obedience to the law." xiv. 11.[1] It is in opposition to this

[1] These writers would acknowledge justification *by faith and grace:* but then, as Calvin observes, they understood

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that he says, "David there argues not concerning a *branch*, but the *whole* of justification." And this explains what follows, that righteousness is "simply opposed to guilt," and not to depravity: that is, that it includes not, as the church of Rome teaches that it does, the "infusion" of a new and holy temper.—In the latter passage he is opposing Osiander, whose "reverie" made justification to consist in the infusion of the essential righteousness of the Deity into us[1]: thus in another way confounding justification with sanctification. He confounds, says Calvin, "justification and regeneration together, and denominates it a twofold righteousness." (xi. 11.) It is in opposition to this error that Calvin says that the pardon of sins is not "a part" of righteousness, or "*concurs*" to justification, but "includes the whole" of it. That he means nothing contrary to the idea of justification including acceptance to the divine favour, being "accounted righteous" before God, and considered as "entitled" to eternal life, will hardly be doubted when his general language and doctrine are considered. "*He* is said to be justified in the sight of God, who in the divine judgment is reputed righteous, and accepted on account of his righteousness." "*He* is justified by faith, who apprehends by faith the righteousness of Christ, invested in which, he appears in the sight of God not as a sinner but as a righteous man. Thus we simply explain justification to be an acceptance, by which God receives us into his favour, and

by grace, "not an imputation of gratuitous righteousness, but the Spirit assisting to the pursuit of holiness." xi. 15.

[1] "He wished to infuse the divine essence into men." xi. 5. Above, vol. i. 324. ii. 115.

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esteems us as righteous persons: and we say that it consists *in the remission of sins, and the imputation of the righteousness of Christ.*" xi. 2.

Justification a continued act.

The title of chapter xiv. may perhaps startle some readers, who have been accustomed to consider justification as, unlike sanctification, perfected at once. It is, "The commencement and continual progress of justification." On a sinner's truly believing in Christ his past sins are no doubt pardoned, and he stands accepted to the divine favour: but his fresh sins need daily, hourly to be washed away, and his state of acceptance preserved and continued even to the end: and in this view we may, without at all abating any thing of the believer's perfect justification always up to the present time, speak of the "commencement and progress of his justification." It is in short a *continued* act: and, in opposition to some who would then have made, as some would still make, man's first justification indeed to be by faith, but his continued and final justification to be by his works, Calvin maintains that it proceeds from first to last always upon the same ground, by free grace on God's part, and only by faith on the part of man: or as he somewhat formally states it, with reference to the "four kinds of causes which the philosophers direct us to consider in the production of effects," "the *efficient* cause of our salvation is the love of God the Father; the *material* cause, the obedience of the Son; the *instrumental* cause, the illumination of the Spirit, that is faith; and the *final* cause, the glory of the infinite goodness of God." § 17, 21.[1]

In this connexion he is led to speak of *evi-*

[1] On faith *only*, and on the pretence that only ceremonial works are excluded, he speaks well, xi. 19.

dences of a state of salvation. "A conscience thus founded, built up, and established, is also *confirmed* by the consideration of works; that is, as far as they are *evidences* (testimonia) of God's dwelling and reigning in us. Now, this confidence of works being found in none but those who have previously cast all the confidence of their souls on the mercy of God, it ought not to be thought contrary to that on which it depends.... When the saints therefore confirm their faith, or derive matter of rejoicing from the integrity of their consciences, they only conclude, from the fruits of vocation, that they have been adopted by the Lord as his children.....These things have no concern in laying the foundation for establishing the conscience; nor are they of any value except as they are *consequences* of the divine vocation; .....but, as the fruits of regeneration evince that the Holy Spirit dwells in the saints, this affords them ample encouragement." § 18, 19.

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Evidences of a state of grace.

He altogether condemns the introduction of the term *merit*, (xv. 2.) but the doctrine of *reward*, a reward altogether of grace indeed, but rich and surely promised, he fully maintains: (xv. 3. xviii. 6:) and scruples not to say, that "no obstacle arises" from the exclusion of works from the number of principal causes of salvation, above enumerated, "to prevent their being considered by the Lord as inferior causes;.... making a former favour, which is a step to the succeeding one, in some sense the cause of it." xiv. 21.—"Are our acts of duty then," he asks, "so valuable in the sight of God, that they are like riches reserved in his hand for us?" And he answers: "Who can be afraid to assert this, when the scripture so frequently and plainly declares it?" xviii. 6.

Merit, and Reward.

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Epistle to the Galatians.

On the Epistle to the Galatians, he says: "I confess that Paul is there treating of ceremonies; ... but, for the decision of the question before him, it was necessary to discuss some higher topics, in which the whole controversy lay." xix. 3. And it is in this way, no doubt, that the apostle's argument in that epistle applies against justification by works of any kind.

S. James.

On the celebrated passage of S. James his remarks are these: "The principal mistake of our adversaries consists in supposing that James describes the method of justification, while he only destroys the corrupt security of those who make vain pretences to faith, in order to excuse their contempt of good works. Into whatever forms therefore they pervert the words of James, they will extort nothing but these two truths: that a vain notion of faith cannot justify; and that the faithful, not content with such an imagination, manifest their righteousness by their good works."[1] xvii. 12.

Christian Liberty.

Chapter xix. treats of "Christian liberty," which the author makes to consist in three things: 1. Renouncing all reference to the law in the matter of justification: (§ 2, 3:) 2. "Not observing the law as being under any legal obligation," but as yielding "a voluntary obedience to the will of God:" (§ 4—6:) and 3. "Being bound by no obligation before God respecting external things which are in them-

[1] This appears entirely to fall in with the view taken of the passage by Bp. Hopkins, and of late forcibly supported by Professor Scholefield of Cambridge—that *one* justification, our justification before God, is spoken of throughout; and that all which is really asserted (even in ver. 24,) is, that justification is not effected but by a faith which is productive of good works.

selves indifferent. § 7, 8. The statement of the second particular as here given in Mr. Allen's translation of the words, is objectionable and open to abuse:[1] but his meaning clearly is only that we are to obey in "the spirit of adoption," and not in that "of bondage."— Under the last particular he guards us, and in a very lively manner, against scrupulosity. "When the conscience has once fallen into the snare, it enters a long and inextricable labyrinth, from which it is afterwards difficult to escape. If a man begin to doubt the lawfulness of using flax in sheets, shirts, handkerchiefs, napkins, and tablecloths, neither will he be certain respecting hemp, and at last he will doubt of the lawfulness of using oakum; for he will consider with himself whether he cannot eat without tablecloths, whether he cannot do without handkerchiefs or napkins. If any one imagine delicate food to be unlawful, he will ere long have no tranquillity before God in eating brown bread and common viands, while he remembers that he might support his body with meat of a quality still inferior. If he hesitate respecting good wine, he will afterwards be unable with any peace of conscience to drink the most vapid; and at last he will not presume to touch even pure and wholesome water... The necessary consequence is, that some are hurried by despair into a vortex of confusion, from which they see no way of escape; and some, despising God, and casting off all fear of him, make a way of ruin for themselves." § 7.[2] Here also he

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Scrupulosity.

[1] The rendering is here too loose. "Non quasi legis *necessitate coacti:*" "not compelled by the stern exaction of law," rather than "not as being under *any legal obligation.*"

[2] This scrupulous spirit is much to be deprecated and

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considers the question of *offences*, which, he observes, may be either *given* or *taken*. They are *given* when the fault is in him that performs the action; *taken*, when the person offended, or stumbled, unreasonably perverts what is done. The former case regards the *weak*; the latter, the *censorious*. "We ought to submit to the ignorance of weak brethren, but not at all to the austerity of Pharisees." [1] § 11.

Prayer.

The next chapter, (c. xx.) in fifty-two sections, treats of Prayer, respecting which numerous questions are considered, prayers to the saints exploded, and a copious exposition of the Lord's prayer, as a "perfect model," introduced.

Passive waiting.

Here he speaks of "the impious errors of some," in so "resigning the office of prayer to the Spirit of God," as to imply "that we should wait in indolent supineness till he call our minds from other engagements, and draw them to himself:" whereas we ought rather, "wearied with our own sloth and inactivity, to implore the assistance of the Spirit." § 5.

Even the prayers of unbelievers, he states, are often heard: and the prayers of pious persons are acceptable to God, even when offered for things which it is not according to his providential, governing will to grant. § 14, 15.—"What can be more amiable and attractive than for God to bear this character—*the God that heareth prayer*—which assures us that nothing is more agreeable to his nature than to grant the requests of humble suppliants?" § 13.

resisted. It savours of hard thoughts of God and his service, and tends to produce them: it is probably also tainted with self-righteousness: and it leads to censoriousness towards others.

[1] "See Matt. xv. 14."

If departed saints pray for us, he observes, it is still only through Christ: and it does not follow that we are to pray to them. § 21. A. D. 1564.

Let the Christian's prayers, he says, "comprehend all men in the world; respecting whom what God hath determined is beyond our knowledge; only that to wish and hope the best concerning them is equally the dictate of piety and of humanity." § 38.

Election and reprobation.

We have now arrived at the far-famed chapters, four in number, (c. xxi—xxiv,) on Election and Reprobation, which, though, as we have already observed, together falling short considerably of the extent of the one chapter on prayer, seem, in the apprehensions of many, to have occupied the whole compass of the work.

Grounds of the doctrine.

All must allow that the author in the first instance approaches the subject in a becoming spirit, and makes excellent observations on the limits within which our inquiries should be confined. He begins with the facts of the gospel not being sent to all, and its meeting with so different a reception from different individuals among those to whom it is sent. "This diversity," he says, "discovers the wonderful depth of the divine judgment." xxi. 1. He then adverts to the practical uses of the doctrine. "We shall never be clearly convinced, as we ought to be, that our salvation flows from the fountain of God's free mercy," without perceiving that He makes the difference in those that are saved. Hence the suppression of the doctrine "detracts from the divine glory, and diminishes real humility." At the same time it takes away "the only solid basis of our own security." § 1.

Uses.

On the limits to be observed in our inquir-

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Limits to be observed.

ies; he says: "The discussion of predestination, a subject of itself rather intricate, is made very perplexed, and therefore dangerous, by human curiosity, which no barriers can restrain from wandering into forbidden labyrinths, and soaring beyond its sphere, as if determined to leave none of the divine secrets unscrutinized and unexplored."... But "the careless and confident intruder will obtain no satisfaction to his curiosity, but will enter a labyrinth from which he will find no way to depart.... The secrets of his will, which he determined to reveal to us, God discovers in his word; and these are all that he foresaw would concern us, or conduce to our advantage." "When we exceed the limits of his word we shall get into a devious and darksome course, in which errors, slips and falls will often be inevitable.... To desire any other knowledge of predestination than what is unfolded in the word of God indicates as great folly, as a wish to walk through impassable roads, or to see in the dark."..."There is a kind of *learned ignorance*. Let us abstain with cheerfulness from the pursuit of that knowledge, the affectation of which is foolish, dangerous, and even fatal." § 1, 2.[1]

On suppressing the doctrine.

On suppressing or keeping back the doctrine he says: "Others, desirous of remedying this evil, will have all mention of predestination to be as it were buried; they teach men to avoid every question concerning it as they would a precipice.—Though their moderation is to be

[1] This excellent sentiment concerning "a learned ignorance," a well-instructed willingness to remain ignorant of what "is not given us to know," he repeats, c. xxiii. § 8. Such a *well-taught ignorance* obeys the apostle's injunction, "Foolish and unlearned"—*untaught, mistaught*—"questions avoid."

commended, in judging that mysteries ought to be handled with such great sobriety: yet they descend too low.... We must recur to the word of the Lord:... the scripture is the school of the Holy Spirit, in which, as nothing necessary and useful to be known is omitted, so nothing is taught which it is not beneficial to know. Whatever therefore is declared in scripture concerning predestination we must be cautious not to withhold from the faithful, lest we appear either to defraud them of a benefit which God has conferred on them, or to reprove and censure the Holy Spirit, for publishing what it would be useful by any means to suppress. Let us, I say, permit the Christian man to open his heart and his ears to all the discourses addressed to him by God; only with this moderation, that, as soon as the Lord closes his sacred mouth, *he* shall also desist from further inquiry. This will be the best barrier of sobriety, if in learning we not only follow the leadings of God, but as soon as he ceases to teach we give up our desire of learning." § 3.—"The refractory mind will discover" objections to whatever God has revealed. This he shews by an induction of some particulars. § 4. A. D. 1564.

Predestination, in the present limited application of the term, he defines, "The eternal decree of God, by which he hath determined in himself what he would have to become of every individual of mankind."[1] By it "God adopts some to the hope of life, and *adjudges* others to eternal death." § 5. "We affirm," he says, "that God's counsel, as far as it concerns the elect, is founded on his gratuitous mercy, to- Predestination. defined.

[1] A further statement connected with this definition will be noticed hereafter.

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tally irrespective of human merit: but that, to those whom he devotes to condemnation, the gate of life is closed by his *just*, indeed, and *irreprehensible*, but *incomprehensible judgment*." § 7.—God's predestination upon this subject, he affirms, "no one, desirous of the credit of piety dares absolutely," and in every sense "to deny." § 5.

Israel.

He considers the separation of Israel as "a specimen" and illustration of God's predestination; the ground of it being "his gratuitous love." § 5. He then passes to the exclusion

Ishmael.

of Ishmael, and of Esau; which he "grants was by their own crime and guilt." They and persons of similar character "fell from the adoption, because the condition annexed was, that they should faithfully keep the covenant of God, which they perfidiously violated," though it had been "equally sealed in them by the

Esau and Jacob.

symbol of circumcision." § 6.—He admits that "Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated," "respects their whole posterity." "Yet this is no objection to our having, in the person of one individual, *a specimen* of the election which can never fail of attaining its effect." And "God's gratuitous election is but half displayed till we come to particular individuals, to whom God not only offers salvation, but assigns it in such a manner that the certainty of the effect is liable to no suspense or doubt." § 7.

Such are the statements of the first chapter which treats of this subject: and well would it have been if the same moderation had been observed in all that follows.

Scriptural proofs.

Chapter xxii. is devoted to scriptural proofs of his doctrine: which are here however urged less elaborately and less forcibly than in his

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later treatise on the same subject.—The clause, "chosen that we might be holy,[1]" he says, "fully refutes the error which derives election from foreknowledge," or foreseen goodness, "since Paul declares, on the contrary, that all the virtue discovered in men is the *effect* of election." "Say, 'Because he foresaw they would be holy, therefore he chose them,' and you will invert the order of Paul." § 2, 3.—"Well knowing the impossibility of God's foreseeing any good in man, except what he had first determined to bestow by the benefit of his election, he resorts not to the preposterous order of placing good works before their cause." § 5.—On the objection which the apostle supposes, Romans ix. 14, 15, "*What shall we say then, Is there unrighteousness with God?*" and on his answer to it; he quotes Augustine, and thus argues: "It was the place for him to answer that God foresaw the merits of each: yet he says nothing of this.... A difficult question was raised, whether it was a just procedure in God to favour with his grace certain particular persons. This Paul could have decided by a single word, if he had pleaded the consideration of works. Why then does he not do this, but rather continue his discourse involved in the same difficulty? Why, but from necessity?... Without any evasion or circumlocution therefore he answers, that God favours his elect because he will, and has mercy because he will. *I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and will have mercy on whom I will have mercy.*" § 8.

Foreseen goodness.

The assertions of the closing section of this chapter are highly objectionable, and, if taken

[1] Eph. i. 4. So Rom. viii. 29: "Predestinated *to be* conformed &c:" and perhaps 1 Pet. i. 2: "Elect *unto* obedience."

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literally, unwarranted even by the author's own system, and contradictory to principles which he has previously laid down. But I believe him not to mean all that his words seem to convey. The passage shall be considered hereafter.

Objections answered.

Chapter xxiii. is a "Refutation" of objections, or, as the author styles them, "calumnies urged against this doctrine."

1. Justice.

The first is, that of incompatibility with the divine justice. And here I must pronounce both his statement of the doctrine, and his answer to the objection, as first given in § 2, to be unwarranted and unsatisfactory in the extreme. But I reserve it for notice among other points in his doctrine which appear to bear the same character. In § 3. he takes a much more tenable ground, and I humbly bow to his argument, which appears to me to proceed upon scriptural grounds. "What do they suppose that God owes to man, if he chooses to judge of him from his (man's) own nature? As we are all corrupted by sin, we must necessarily be odious to God, ... in the most equitable estimation of justice. If all whom the Lord predestinates to death are in their natural condition liable to the sentence of death, what injustice do they complain of receiving from him? ... If they have all been taken from a corrupt mass, it is no wonder that they are subject to condemnation.... Hence appears the perverseness of their disposition to murmur, because they intentionally suppress the cause of condemnation, which they are constrained to acknowledge is in themselves."

The fall of man considered as the result of a divine decree.

He then supposes the objection, that we were "antecedently predestinated to that corruption which is now stated as the cause of condemnation." And this leads him into the

consideration of the fall of both angels and men as the result of the divine decree. On this "dark and slippery" ground I must decline to follow him—profiting by those wise admonitions which he gave on first entering upon the subject,[1] but of which I must suspect that he is not now duly mindful himself.—He applies here, in reply to any objection, the apostle's question, "Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?" But it is his own doctrine, repeatedly inculcated, that God did not make, or create us such as we are, but that man corrupted himself.[2] Will it not fully satisfy the text quoted, to apply it to God's "forming" out of "THE CORRUPT MASS" of fallen human nature "some to honour and some to dishonour," without imputing to him any such thing as the formation of CREATURES (simply considered as such,) for wickedness and consequent misery? At least, let us not "wander into forbidden labyrinths, and soar beyond our sphere." A. D. 1564.

Some good observations immediately follow on not intruding too far into such inquiries; and among them he asks, "What advantage or satisfaction do you gain from plunging yourselves, by your mad researches, into an abyss that reason itself pronounces will be fatal to you?" § 5. And a little further on he concludes, "Wherefore let us rather contemplate the evident cause of condemnation, which lies nearer to us, in the corrupt nature of man, than search after a hidden and altogether incomprehensible one in the predestination of The cause of condemnation in ourselves.

[1] Chap. xxi. § 1, 2. Above, p. 566.

[2] See on Original Sin, above, p. 523-4. It is also repeated and strongly enforced in this very chapter, § 8.

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God." § 8. And again: "They act preposterously, who in seeking for the origin of their condemnation direct their views to the secret recesses of the divine counsel, and overlook the corruption of nature, which is its real source." § 9.

2. Objection; Responsibility.

2. To the objection that predestination destroys responsibility his answer here is more intricate and less satisfactory than that before given, namely, that, whether we can comprehend it or not, the certainty of an event, and even its preordination, is perfectly consistent with the free agency of those who accomplish it.[1] § 6—9.

3. God no respecter of persons.

3. On the objection, that the doctrine in question constitutes the Divine Being "a respecter of persons," contrary to the express declarations of scripture, he says: It proceeds upon a misapprehension of the scriptural use of the term, which does not apply to bestowing unmerited favour on one and not on another, but to approving or disapproving a man according to his *circumstances*, and not according to his *character*; accepting, for instance, that in a Jew which would be rejected in a Gentile. § 10.

Not necessary that equal grace be shewn to all.

Must we not admit, that in the following observations he demolishes the principle which many would lay down, that justice requires that God should shew equal *grace* to all? "If he finds all guilty, they say, let him punish all alike: if innocent, let him withhold the rigour of justice from all. But they deal with him just as if either mercy were forbidden him, or, when he chooses to shew mercy, he were constrained wholly to renounce justice? What is

[1] See Acts ii. 23. iii. 18. iv. 27, 28. Above, p. 518-9.

it that they require? If all are guilty, that they shall all suffer the same punishment. We confess the guilt to be common, but we say that some are relieved by the divine mercy. They say, Let it relieve all. But we reply, It is right that he should likewise shew himself to be a just judge in the infliction of punishment. When they object to this, what is it but attempting to deprive God of the opportunity to manifest his mercy, or to grant it to him, at least, on the condition that he wholly abandon his justice.... The Lord therefore may give grace to whom he will, because he is merciful, and yet not give it to all, because he is a just judge: may manifest his free grace by giving to some what they never deserve, while by not giving to all he declares the demerit of all.[1]" § 11. A. D. 1564.

4. The fourth objection is, that this doctrine must cut the sinews of exertion, and make men utterly careless of their conduct. He speaks even in coarse language of condemnation of "the impure blasphemies" of those, who would "elude all admonitions and reproofs," by saying, "God knows what he has determined to do with us; if he has decreed our salvation, he will bring us to it in his own time; if he has destined us to death, it will be in vain for us to strive against it." § 12. It is manifest that none can practically reason in this way but persons reckless of their eternal interest, and 4. Objection; Exertion destroyed.

[1] What else is the drift of the parable, Matt. xx. 1—16, concluding, "Friend, I do thee no wrong: ... Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own? Is thine eye evil because I am good?" If God inflict no *undeserved evil*, and withhold no good either *deserved* or *promised*, who shall say he has not a right to confer *undeserved good* where and on whom he pleases? Even man has this right, and much more the Creator of all things.

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bent upon the gratification of their passions; and the reasoning of such persons can be of no weight for or against a religious doctrine. But this reasoning presumes that *means* are not predestinated as well as *ends*, and have no tendency to accomplish those ends. We know not in the least, even assuming the truth of the doctrine under consideration, who is predestinated to life and who not: but we do know that "every one that asketh receiveth, and he that seeketh findeth;" and that "if we neglect so great salvation" we have no chance of escape: if we seek and ask therefore, we may conclude that we are "chosen to salvation," and may assure ourselves that the prescribed means, which we thus use, shall advance the end at which we aim: while, so long as we "neglect" those means, we have no reason but to conclude that eternal death is before us. S. Augustine asks, very much to the purport of Dr. Paley's fine sentence on "fortitude of understanding," above noticed,[1] Must that which is evident be denied, because that which is concealed cannot be comprehended?"[2]

5. Exhortations superseded.

5. Lastly it is urged, that upon the scheme of predestination all exhortations are superfluous. This objection has virtually been answered under the preceding head, as it was also distinctly on a former occasion. Exhortations, in the view of the predestinarian, are among the means by which God works upon the minds of men to accomplish his purposes; and are therefore not to be dispensed with.[3]

[1] Above, p. 226. [2] In Calv. xxiii. 13.

[3] Compare Acts xxvii. 22—25. "I believe God that" "there shall be no loss of any man's life," with ver. 31, "Except these abide in the ship ye cannot be saved."

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Method of preaching.

Calvin here again quotes S. Augustine to the following purport: "If any one address the people in such a way as this, 'If you believe not, it is because you are by a divine decree already destined to destruction;' he not only cherishes slothfulness, but even encourages wickedness.[1] If any one extend the declaration to the future, that they who hear will never believe because they are reprobated; this would be rather imprecation than instruction. Such persons therefore, Augustine rightly charges, as foolish teachers, inauspicious, ill-omened prophets, to depart from the church." And again: "'When God designs to bring men to himself, does he bind them by corporeal bonds?'" No; "'he acts inwardly, he seizes their hearts within them, moves them inwardly, and draws them by their wills, which he has wrought in them.' But what he (Augustine) immediately adds," continues Calvin, "must by no means be omitted; 'Because we know not who belongs or does not belong to the number of the predestinated, it becomes us affectionately to desire the salvation of all. The consequence will be, that whomsoever we meet we shall endeavour to make him a partaker of peace. But our peace shall rest upon the sons of peace. —On our part, therefore, salutary and severe reproof, like a medicine, must be administered to all, that they may neither perish themselves, nor destroy others: but it will be the province of God to render it useful to them whom he hath foreknown and predestinated.'"—This is the close of chapter xxiii.

Chapter xxiv. is thus entitled: "Election confirmed by the divine calling. The just

[1] Or, "indulges malignity." Qu.—"Indulget malitiæ."

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destruction, to which the reprobate are destined, *procured by themselves*."

By "confirmed" he appears to mean, made surely known to us. In this sense he elsewhere uses the word: and accordingly it is here varied by "manifested."—On this subject, of attaining the knowledge of our own "election of God," his instructions are very wise and important.

Our election to be known only by our calling and sanctification.

"Satan," he says, "never assaults the faithful with a more grievous or dangerous temptation than when, disquieting them with doubts of their election, he stimulates them to a perverse desire of investigating it *in a wrong way*.... This temptation is the more fatal, because there is none to which men have a stronger propensity. For there is scarcely a person to be found whose mind is not sometimes struck with this thought, 'Whence can you obtain salvation but from the election of God? And what revelation have you received of (your) election?'...If we dread shipwreck, let us anxiously beware of this rock"—indulging this inquiry, and seeking the solution of it "in a wrong way." We cannot pry into the secret counsels of the Most High. We can know nothing of our own election but from the *effects* in which it manifests itself. "As those," says Calvin, "who, in order to gain an assurance of their election, examine into the eternal counsel of God without the word, plunge themselves into a fatal abyss; so they who investigate it in a right and orderly manner, as it is contained in the word, derive from such inquiry the benefit of peculiar consolation." § 4.

"The discriminating election of God," then, "which is otherwise concealed within himself,

he *manifests only by his calling*;[1] which may therefore with propriety be termed the *testification* or *evidence* of it." (§ 1.) This "consists not in the mere preaching of the word, but in the accompanying illumination of the Spirit," "causing the word preached to sink into the hearts of men," and inclining them to obey it. (§ 2, 8.)—"We shall observe the best order" therefore, "if, in seeking an assurance of our election, we confine our attention to those *subsequent signs* which are *certain attestations* of it"—our repentance, faith, and conversion to God—our "through grace obeying the calling," "being made like the image of the only-begotten Son Jesus Christ," and "walking religiously in good works:" "feeling in ourselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and our earthly members, and drawing up our minds to high and heavenly things."[2] "By our adoption, as a token, God chooses to confirm to us all that we are permitted to know of his counsel.—Lest this should be thought a weak testimony, let us consider how much clearness and certainty it affords us." § 4.—Till their effectual calling, the elect "go astray, scattered in the common wilderness," and are not distinguishable from the posterity of Adam at large, "differing in no respect from others, except in being protected by the special mercy of God from rushing down the precipice of eternal death." In that state nothing can be known about them. § 10—"Be this then our way of inquiry, *to begin and end with the calling of God.*" § 4. A. D. 1564.

"Though faith in (our) election animates us to call upon God, yet it would be preposterous to obtrude it upon him when we pray, or to sti- Bearing of the doctrine on prayer.

[1] Rom. viii. 29. [2] Art. xvii. C. of E.

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pulate this condition—'O Lord, if I am elected, hear me:' since it is his pleasure that we should be *satisfied with his promises, and make no further inquiries whether he will be propitious to our prayers*.... We must not inconsiderately apply to different purposes what ought to be restricted to the object particularly designed." § 5.

Perseverance.

Final perseverance is here treated of, slightly, but in a pleasing manner. § 6, 7. It is remarkable that he speaks of the "special call," "when by the inward illumination of the Spirit God causes the word preached to sink into the heart," as "*for the most part* vouchsafed only to the faithful;" but "*sometimes* communicated to those who, on account of their ingratitude, are afterwards forsaken and struck with greater blindness." § 8.

The wedding garment.

"The wedding garment" is here incidentally mentioned, and explained of "the sanctification of Christ." § 8.

Cornelius.

Cornelius also comes under notice, and of him it is said: "It is evident that he was enlightened and regenerated, and wanted nothing but a clear revelation of the gospel." § 10.

Objections from Scripture answered.

In the latter part of the chapter he examines some of the principal passages of scripture which are urged against his doctrine. That God "has no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live," he says, only means that God is "ready to pardon sinners immediately on their conversion. Therefore he wills not their death, inasmuch as he wills their repentance. But experience teaches that he does not will the repentance of (all) those whom he externally calls, in such a manner as to affect all their hearts." § 15.—"Who will have all men to be saved," he says, "only imports that he has not closed the way

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of salvation against any *order* of men," and "would have no *class* to be destitute of his mercy." § 16. On this it has been remarked, that in this sense, according to Calvin's own principles, it might equally have been said, that he "would have all men to perish"—meaning some of every class.—"Not willing that any should perish," is explained by the following clause, "but that all should come to repentance," which "must be understood in consistence with the general tenor of scripture. His voice exhorts all men to repentance," but he "draws the elect by the secret operation of his Spirit." § 16. "The universality of the promises of salvation [1] is not at all inconsistent with the predestination of the reprobate. . . . There is no discordance between these two things—God's having appointed from eternity on whom he will bestow his favour or exercise his wrath, and his proclaiming salvation indiscriminately to all. Indeed I maintain that there is the most perfect harmony between them. For his sole design in thus promising is to offer his mercy to all who desire and seek it; which none do but those whom he has enlightened: and he enlightens all whom he has predestinated to salvation." § 17. In the text, *How often would I have gathered thy children*, he "confesses that Christ speaks not merely in his human character, but that he is upbraiding the Jews for having in all ages rejected his grace." He refers it therefore to the various means by which God had "sedulously laboured," through successive ages, for their good:" a mode of interpretation which may perhaps be more advantageously applied to some other of the passages, than that which he has adopted. § 17.

[1] Above, p. 413.

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Censurable points in these chapters.

In concluding my review of these chapters, in the course of which I have adduced some things from them which all must approve or even admire; others which many of us feel that submission to scripture requires us to admit; and others which we may be willing to tolerate; I shall now, in conclusion, state those which it appears to me are to be lamented or condemned.

1. Needlessly revolting language and statements.

1st. Then I cannot but think that in these chapters, and particularly in the third of them, Calvin's sound judgment seems marvellously to have failed him, as to the *manner* in which he has enunciated his doctrines. Had he striven to render them obnoxious by extreme statement, and the use of revolting language, he could scarcely have done it more effectually. In this view, his treatment of his subject may be styled most *impolitic*. Nor let it be said that such a term is inadmissible here: that not policy but faithfulness is the one rule by which the ambassador of Christ must govern his conduct, and model his statements. This is allowed in the fullest extent. But faithfulness did not require the use of language, in one part, remote from that, and even, if taken literally, contradictory to that, which is used in other parts upon the same subject. That such is the case will appear. But the fact I believe is, that there was a coldness and hardness about Calvin's mind, which led him sometimes to regard as objects of mere intellect those things, which could not but deeply move the feelings of minds differently constituted: and hence, I cannot but conceive, he did not duly appreciate the effect of the language he was using upon other persons: he was not aware of it: he was insensible to it.—And to these extreme statements and this obnoxious language, which

might have been avoided, without the surrender of a particle of that (supposed) divine truth, for which he was anxious to contend, I must think is to be traced a considerable portion of that storm of obloquy and odium, which has not ceased to beat upon the head of Calvin and Calvinism to this day. His doctrine might have been equally disliked, however stated, but it could not have been assaulted and reviled with equal success. And, accordingly, revolting and indefensible sentences, culled from these chapters, have been among the most effective weapons with which the whole system (involving much important revealed truth,) has been assailed from the author's time to the present hour. The terms "reprobation" and "the reprobate" continually resounding in our ears, in a sense not sanctioned by scriptural usage, have been already noticed. The dreadful language in which not only the effect, but even the design of the temporal afflictions of such persons is spoken of:[1] their being described as "those whom God hath created to a life of shame and a death of destruction, &c.;"[2] though at other times we are taught carefully to distinguish between "creation and corruption," between what God made men and what they "have made themselves:"[3] the frequent representation of the elect as "few" compared with the number of the reprobate:[4] these may be given as instances.

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2. It may be questioned whether the next point that I shall mention ought to be referred to the head of very indiscreet and improper

2. Reprobation apparently made independent of demerit.

[1] Chap. iv. § 32, 33. [2] Chap. xxiv. 12. xxi. 5. &c.

[3] Chap. xxiii. 8: and on Original Sin, above, p. 523-4.

[4] Calvin is certainly chargeable with making, in express terms, the elect to be comparatively few—a small part of mankind. xxi. 7. xxii. 6, 7. xxiv. 16, 17.

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language, or of very exceptionable doctrine. Notwithstanding unfavourable appearances, I should be disposed decidedly to refer it to the former. What I mean is our author's repeatedly speaking of reprobation as absolute, irrespective of demerit, and no less than election itself dependent on the sovereign pleasure of God alone.[1]—On the other hand, it is to be considered that he constantly pronounces (what he is so much given to speak of, and with so little authority,) the decree of reprobation to be "a *just* and *irreprehensible*, though incomprehensible judgment:" asserts "the cause and matter of condemnation" to be "in men themselves;" "predestination" to be "no other than a dispensation of divine *justice*;" "ordination to destruction" to be "guided by *equity*;" and exhorts us "rather to contemplate the evident cause of condemnation, which is nearer to us, in the corruption of mankind, than search after a hidden and incomprehensible one in the predestination of God." xxiii. 3, 8, 9.

How then are these apparently contradictory assertions to be reconciled? I should not

[1] "Ergo si non possumus rationem assignare cur suos misericordiâ dignetur, nisi quoniam ita illi placet, neque etiam in aliis reprobandis aliud habebimus quam ejus voluntatem." xxii. 11. "Quos ergo Deus præterit, reprobat: neque aliâ de causâ nisi quod ab hæreditate quam filiis suis prædestinat illos vult excludere." xxiii. 1. "Ecce, quum rerum omnium dispositio in manu Dei sit, quum penes ipsum resideat salutis ac mortis arbitrium, consilio nutuque suo ita ordinat, ut inter homines nascantur ab utero certæ morti devoti, qui suo exitio ipsius nomen glorificent..., Et vita et mors divinæ magis voluntatis quam præscientiæ sint actiones.", ib. 6. The last observation is directed against making foreseen wickedness (perhaps wickedness *in a greater degree*,) the ground of reprobation.—Compare p. 222—224 above, on Zwingle's statements.

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hesitate to say, by considering that he is speaking exclusively of *sinners*, all of whom are acknowledged to be justly obnoxious to condemnation; and that all he means, by reprobation being as irrespective of demerit as election is of merit, is, that those who are left under condemnation are not so left because they are *more guilty* than others, but because God (not without reason, but for reasons into which we have neither right nor ability to inquire,) selected *from this ruined race* whom he would for salvation, and left whom he would to the consequences of their sins.—As to the subject of their having become thus ruined—the reasons, the causes, the manner of it; the whole question is one that calls, and no doubt designedly calls, for our profoundest submission. It is *fact:* therefore we may be sure that as God is concerned in it it is *right.* "THOU art righteous," but "I and my people are wicked."

And the solution thus offered would be confirmed by the many passages, in which our author reminds us that he is speaking of "the corrupt mass" of fallen mankind. Thus he replies to objectors: We will "ask them in return, What they suppose God owes to man, if he chooses to judge of him *from his* (man's) *own nature.* As we are *all corrupted by sin* we must necessarily be odious to God... If all whom he predestinates to death are *in their natural condition liable to the sentence* of death, what injustice do they complain of receiving from him? Let all the *sons of Adam* come forward.... If they have all been taken from A CORRUPT MASS, it is no wonder that they are subject to condemnation. Let them not therefore accuse God of injustice &c." xxiii. 3. Again: "While we assert that *all deserve to*

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perish, and that it is of God's free goodness that any are saved, enough is said for the illustration of his glory." xxiv. 12.

Such a solution then might be admitted by every one who unreservedly ascribes his salvation to the distinguishing grace of God, as removing the charge against Calvin, upon this most important point, from his *doctrine* to his *language;* which must yet be acknowledged to be in the highest degree incautious, unwise, and unwarrantable. But here, as in the case of Zwingle, I am met by one passage to which this explanation will not apply, and which by intruding (contrary to the author's own wise and reverent warnings,) into things on which we have no "oracle of God," appears to carry the principle further. I refer to that in which he thus speaks of the fall of angels: "The angels who stood in their integrity Paul calls elect: if *their* constancy rested on the divine pleasure, the defection of the others argues their being forsaken; a fact for which no other cause can be assigned than the reprobation hidden in the secret counsel of God." xxiii. 4. Here absolute rejection seems to be applied to creatures yet sinless; to be followed by their being forsaken of God before they forsook him; and thus to be made the cause not the consequence of their fall! I am sensible how perplexing a question we are here approaching:[1] but I recoil from it, as one of those which Calvin himself has taught me to consider as "out of bounds:" one that we have no right to ask, and therefore are not bound to answer: and I fully content myself with the remarks which have been made upon it by one who will be sufficiently *Calvinistic* for most of my rea-

Creatures forsaking God, or being forsaken by him.

[1] Dean Milner on Human Liberty.

ders. "Many plausible reasonings have been used, to prove that the fall of men and angels arose not from their forsaking God in the first instance, but from his previously leaving or abandoning them; and that they then forsook him in consequence. *But the scriptures give another view of the subject*, and ascribe all wickedness to the wilful apostacy of rational creatures: and such reasonings, however ingenious, and difficult to answer, as much corrupt Christianity by metaphysics, as some of the ancient fathers corrupted it by heathen philosophy."[1] A. D. 1564.

3. Perhaps all that Calvin has said concerning the fall of Adam and its consequences to his posterity, as being the result of the divine decree;[2] and on God's "foreknowledge" of events being "only in consequence of his decree that they shall happen;" may be thought to have the same bearing, and, by referring back man's sin as well as his punishment to the divine decree, still to make rejection as absolute and unconditional as if no demerit had intervened. And, if such be indeed the case, I must acknowledge that my explanation of Calvin's positions, or, as I might I think fairly call it, his own explanation of them, can stand him in little stead: for certainly he in the most positive manner lays

3. The fall and all its consequences the result of an efficacious decree.

[1] Works of the Rev. T. Scott, x. 320: in answer to Ref. of Calvinism.

[2] This is itself the *horribile decretum*. "Iterum quæro, Unde factum est, ut tot gentes unà cum liberis eorum infantibus æternæ morti involveret lapsus Adæ absque remedio, nisi quia Deo ita visum est? Hic obmutescere oportet tam dicaces alioqui linguas. Decretum quidem horribile fateor: inficiari tamen nemo poterit quin præsciverit Deus quem exitum esset habiturus homo, antequam ipsum conderet; *et ideo præsciverit quia decreto suo sic ordinarat.* xxiii. 6.—Also § 4.

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down the doctrine, that the fall and all its consequences were the result of a divine appointment, an "influential" appointment, which secured its own accomplishment, and not of a "bare permission." And he treats with little ceremony or respect the "weakness" of those who hesitate to admit this.[1] But this is another topic on which, as it appears to me, he has lamentably transgressed his own rules, concerning strict and simple adherence to the scriptures, laid down at the commencement of his discussion.[2]

4. A questionable vindication of divine justice.

4. I was prepared to notice, as another exceptionable point, the sort of defence of the divine justice, which Calvin in one instance sets up, apparently corresponding with that on which we animadverted in speaking of Zwingle's sentiments on these subjects:[3] but I am happy to find proof that Calvin meant it not in the sense which it appeared to me to convey. The passage occurs where he meets the objection, that it is not consistent with the justice of God, "if men are predestinated to eternal death without any demerit of their own, merely by his sovereign will." This he answers in the present

[1] Particularly, c. xxiii. 7, 8.—On Rom. ix. 22, he says: "Observent lectores," Paulum "summum dare imperium iræ and potentiæ Dei... Rectè enim Augustinus locum hunc explicans,...Deum non sinere, sed virtute suâ moderari:" "that God's power is not permissive but influential." (Allen.) "Minime consentaneum est, præparationem ad interitum alio transferre, quam ad arcanum consilium Dei." xxiii. 1. Hence, ib. § 4, he says: "Atque id est quod principio dicebam, redeundum tandem semper esse ad solum divinæ voluntatis arbitrium."

[2] "As the scripture says nothing explicit concerning that decree, I shall be silent about it." "It is presumptuous in us to deduce unrevealed conclusions from revealed truths—even though Calvin himself did." Rev. T. Scott, *ubi supra*, p. 156, 159.

[3] Above, p. 227-8.

instance, not (as he surely might have done, according to his doctrine in other passages that have been cited,) by denying the fact, but by urging that it is "exceedingly presumptuous only to inquire into the causes of the divine will, which is in fact, and is justly entitled to be, the cause of every thing that exists. For, if it has any cause," he says, "then there must be something antecedent, on which it depends: which it is impious to suppose. For the will of God is the highest rule of justice: so that what he wills must be considered just, for this very reason because he wills it." (xxiii. 2.)— If it be meant, that God's will, where it is manifested, may be taken as the perfect *test* of justice, so that we may be sure that a thing is just, or God would never have done it; nothing can be more right or more essential to piety, than such an acknowledgment: but, if it be meant, that His doing it *makes* it just, and not only *proves* it so; so that it is just because he does it, not that he does it because it is just; we have high authority for saying that we are confounding all moral principles, and plunging into error and impiety.[1] Where is the "impiety" of referring God's will and his consequent acts, as we are taught to do in scripture, to the standard of his own moral perfections, or to his own laws, (the transcript of those perfections,) to determine their rectitude, and not his laws or his perfections to the standard of his own will, absolutely and abstractedly considered?—At the time I wrote these observations I felt and had expressed a hesitation, in imputing to Calvin a principle which Melancthon has so severely censured in Peter Lombard, and which we have presumed to censure in

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[1] Dean Milner, as quoted above, p. 227, note.

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Zwingle; especially as we read very soon afterwards, in the same section, the following sentences, of which I knew not at what they pointed, unless it were the doctrine of Lombard just referred to. "Yet we espouse not," our author says, "the notion of the Romish theologians[1] concerning the absolute and arbitrary power of God, which, on account of its profaneness, deserves our detestation. We represent not God as lawless, who is *a law to himself*." I have since found it fully confirmed that our author does here refer to the very doctrine we have condemned. He speaks explicitly on the subject in his later treatise of Predestination; branding the notion as "a dogma of the Sorbonnists," and "a monstrous speculation."[2]

But I hasten to escape—

Too long detained—in this obscure sojourn.

It has been with no pleasure to myself that I have dwelt upon these intricate and perplexing questions, which can be interesting only to a small proportion of my readers. But, as the subject seemed fairly to put itself in our way, and as it is certainly desirable to know what the faulty indeed, but yet truly great and good, and at the same time much maligned Calvin really taught upon them; as well as what may be approved, and what must be censured; I have not shrunk from entering so far into the case as, according to my ability, to report it, and in some measure to intimate a judgment upon the principal points which it involves.

[1] "Of the Romish theologians" is an insertion of Mr. Allen's—though a correct one.

[2] Opera, viii. 627: item, 633.

I had proposed to myself here to compare Calvin's later treatise on Predestination with these parts of the Institutes: but it is unnecessary. The language indeed of that treatise appears to be more cautious, avoiding those repulsive expressions which from time to time meet us in the Institutes: but I have observed no further variation of statement, and none whatever of doctrine. A. D. 1564.

The last chapter of the third book is on the Final Resurrection. From this we shall only remark, that he distinctly asserts different degrees of glory in heaven, proportioned to what have been the degrees of grace and faithful service on earth. § 10. Degrees of glory.

The fourth and last Book relates to the Church, including its distinguishing marks, its government, powers, and discipline; to the Sacraments; and to Civil Government. Here the usurpations of the church of Rome, and its fictitious sacraments, are discussed and ably exposed. Book IV.

This book forms not the least interesting portion of the work. In general it displays much moderation and wisdom. No great space or prominency is given to the author's favourite scheme of Presbyterian government. He of course considers bishop and presbyter as but different names for the same order of ministers. After rejecting "chapter dignities," he says, "There remain bishops and the rectors of parishes, who would afford me great pleasure if they exerted themselves to support their office. For we would readily admit to them that they have a pious and honourable office, provided they discharged it." v. 11. And again: "Certainly, if they were true bishops I Church order.

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would allow them some authority of this kind" —to prescribe rules to the church: "not all that they demand, but all that is requisite to the maintenance of good order." x. 6.

He is a zealous supporter of order, subordination, and discipline, and most strongly condemns all separations from the church made upon slight grounds. "It is always," he says, "fatally dangerous to be separated from the church."[1]—In the same spirit he had said in a preceding part of his work: "I do not deny that many things are very obscure to us at present, and will continue to be so till we have cast off the burden of the flesh, and arrived nearer to the presence of God. On such subjects nothing would be more proper than a suspension of judgment, and a firm resolution to maintain union with the church."[2]

S. Peter.

He grants to S. Peter *precedency* among the apostles, but not *authority* over them. Also, "in consequence of the agreement of ancient writers," that he died at Rome. vi. 5, 7, 15.

Authority of the Church,

Chapter viii. seems well to define the authority of the church, as derived from the written word of God, and limited by it. "The difference" between us and the papists is this: "they ascribe to the church an authority independent of the word; we maintain it to be annexed to the word, and inseparable from it." § 13.

and of Councils.

The authority of councils is treated in the same manner, in chapter ix. "I venerate them"—the ancient councils—he says, "from my heart; and wish them to receive from all men the honour to which they are entitled." § 1. "We cheerfully receive and venerate as sacred," the first four councils, of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, "and

[1] IV. i. 4, 5, 10, 11, 14, 15, 22. [2] III. ii. 3.

others like them," "as far as respects the articles of faith which they have defended; *for they contain nothing but the pure and natural interpretation of scripture.*" § 8. This last clause puts things precisely upon the right ground. The judgment of a synod carries with it more weight than that of an individual, exactly in proportion as the former is more likely than the latter to ascertain the genuine "interpretation" of scripture.—"If a controversy arise respecting any doctrine, there is no better or more certain remedy than to assemble a council of true bishops, in which the controverted doctrine may be discussed." § 13. The limitation of course is, that their decisions must be founded only on scripture, and derive all their force from their accordance with it. A. D. 1564.

"Many ignorant persons, when they hear that the consciences of men ought not to be bound by human traditions, ... immediately conclude the same rule to be applicable to all the laws which regulate the order of the church." But this "error" he undertakes to refute. x. 27. Regulations of order, in themselves unobjectionable, "it is the duty of Christian people to observe, with a free conscience indeed, and without any superstition, but yet with a pious and ready inclination." § 31.

In ceremonies, he observes, it is necessary to retain "paucity in number, facility in observance, and dignity in signification." x. 14. Ceremonies.

He distinguishes the ecclesiastical and civil power in the same manner that we have seen Œcolampadius doing. xi. 3. "There is much truth in the observation, that 'whoever either corrects what he can by reproof; or what he cannot correct excludes, without breaking the

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bond of peace; or what he cannot exclude, without breaking the bond of peace, censures with moderation and bears with firmness; is free from the curse, and chargeable with no blame.'" xii. 11.

Vows.

Chapter xiii. makes many good observations on "Vows." He summarily pronounces all frivolous as well as superstitious ones void: on the same principle that promises are not binding which the promisee desires not to have fulfilled. The sin or folly was in making them. § 20.

Sacraments:

His general doctrine concerning "Sacraments" (chapter xiv,) seems to be extremely good, and in entire conformity with that of our Articles.

of the Old Testament.

On the sacraments of the Jewish church, he says: "The doctrine of the schools, which asserts such a wide difference between the sacraments of the old and new law, as though the former merely prefigured the grace of God, and the latter actually communicated it, ought to be altogether "exploded." "Whatever is presented to us in our sacraments was anciently received by the Jews in theirs—even Christ and his spiritual riches. Whatever power our sacraments have, they also experienced the same in theirs: they were seals of the divine benevolence to them, confirming their hope of everlasting salvation." Augustine says, "They were different from ours in the signs; in the thing signified they were equal (paria): different in visible form, equal (paria) in spiritual efficacy." *Paria,* it would seem, should rather be rendered here *alike* than *equal,* since the same author says again, After the revelation of Christ, sacraments were instituted, "fewer in number, more noble in signification, and

more excellent in efficacy." § 23, 26.—"A spiritual promise, the very same which is given to us in baptism, was given to the fathers in circumcision." xvi. 3. A. D. 1564.

The personal character of the administrator affects not the validity of a sacrament: and baptism, though received in unbelief, is not to be repeated. xv. 16, 17.

Indifferent circumstances in sacraments.

"Whether the person who is baptised be wholly immersed, and whether thrice or once, or whether water be only poured or sprinkled upon him, is of no importance: churches ought to be left at liberty in this respect, to act according to the difference of countries." xv. 19. And so of the Lord's supper, "Whether the faithful take the bread in their own hands or not; whether they divide it between them, or every individual eat that which is given him; whether they return the cup into the hand of the deacon, or deliver it to the person who is next; whether the bread be leavened or unleavened; whether the wine be red or white; is not of the least importance." xvii. 43.

State of Infants:

Calvin, as well as Zwingle, takes the most encouraging views of the condition and the baptism of children, at least of the children of sincere Christians. "God pronounces that he adopts our infants as his children, before they are born, when he promises that he *will be a God to us and to our seed after us.* This promise includes their salvation." "Hoc verbo continetur eorum salus:" that is, as the context shews, the salvation of such as die in infancy depends on God's promise, and not on their having received or not received baptism. xv. 20.—"The children of the faithful are not therefore baptised that they may be *made* the

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children of God, as if they had before been strangers to the church; but, on the contrary, they are received into the church, by a solemn sign, because they already belonged to the body of Christ by virtue of the promise." xv. 22.

and their baptism.

—"This sign of God, communicated to a child, like the impression of a seal, ratifies and confirms the promise given to a pious parent, declaring that the Lord will be a God not only to him but to his seed, and that he is determined to exercise his goodness and grace, not only towards him, but towards his posterity even to a thousand generations. The manifestation here given of the mercy of God, in the first place, furnishes the most abundant matter for the celebration of his glory; and, in the second place, fills pious breasts with more than common joy, by which they are excited to a more ardent return of affection to such an indulgent Father, in whom they discover such a care of their posterity on their account." xvi. 9.—"It ought therefore to be admitted beyond all controversy, that God is so kind and liberal to his servants as, for their sakes, to appoint even the children who shall descend from them to be enrolled among his people." § 15.—"How delightful is it to pious minds to have not only verbal assurances, but even ocular proof of their standing so high in the favour of their heavenly Father, that their posterity also are objects of his care." § 32.—"It is no small stimulus to our education of them in the serious fear of God and the observance of his law, to reflect, that they are considered and acknowledged by him as his children as soon as they are born." *ib.*

He utterly rejects the idea that "our seed after us" means not our natural descendants, but only the spiritual seed of Abraham. The

latter are the persons *to* whom the promise is made: their offspring those *concerning* whom it is made. xvi. 12—15.—"It is most evident that the covenant which the Lord once made with Abraham continues as much in force with Christians in the present day, as it did formerly with the Jews." Christ came not "to diminish or curtail the grace of the Father," but "to extend" it. § 6, 7, 15. A. D. 1564.

In chapter xvii, on the Lord's supper, he seems to make a somewhat unintelligible attempt to approach to the literal reception of the flesh and blood of Christ, and at the same time to avoid both transubstantiation and consubstantiation. Hence we meet with such sentences as these: "I am not satisfied with those persons... who represent us as merely partakers of Christ's Spirit, but make no mention of his flesh and blood." "Let our faith receive what our understanding is not able to comprehend, that the Spirit really unites things which are *separated by local distance*." "There is nothing more preternatural than for souls to derive spiritual and heavenly life from the flesh which had its origin on earth, and was subject to death." § 7, 10, 24, 33. At the same time he says, "There is no other eating than by faith: it is impossible to imagine any other." § 5. Also, "The flesh of Christ itself, in the mystery of the supper, is as much a spiritual thing as our eternal salvation." § 33. The Lord's Supper.

On Confirmation he says: "Such imposition of hands as is simply connected with benediction I highly approve, and wish it were now restored to its primitive use, uncorrupted by superstition." xix. 4. And again: "I sincerely wish that we retained the custom which, I have Confirmation.

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stated, was observed among the ancients, before this abortive image of a sacrament," as confirmation was made in the Romish church, attended with most absurd observances, "made its appearance." § 13.

Ordination.

He acknowledges the imposition of hands in ordination, as virtually *a third "sacrament,"* but one confined to a particular order of men. xix. 28, 30.

Civil Government.

On civil government he, in his closing chapter, maintains a high doctrine of non-resistance, except such as may be constitutionally provided for, towards rulers. § 26—31.

Such is a general account of the contents and doctrines of a work, which of itself would have sufficed to give a lasting celebrity to its author's name; which was long the text-book of the student, and the confession of faith of a large portion of the protestant world; and *of* which and *against* which multitudes still continue to speak; but which few comparatively read. In closing this review of it, there are two points which I wish further to notice. One is Calvin's doctrine concerning the unlimited calls and offers of the gospel; and the other, his views of the design of Christ's death—whether it was for all men generally, or only for the elect.

Two further points.

1. Invitations and offers of grace.

1. After all that we have read from the pen of Calvin concerning "the universality of the promises;" "salvation being proclaimed indiscriminately to all;" "all men, promiscuously, being called, invited, exhorted" to come to Christ; the Saviour's "offering himself" to our acceptance; "mercy being offered both" to the elect and the reprobate; "the grace of Christ being offered to all alike;" with his

vindications of such a mode of proceeding as in no way inconsistent with the other doctrines which he lays down;[1] there can remain no doubt of his sentiments on this subject. Some passages however may be selected, which apparently, and especially by those who content themselves with a translation, wear a different aspect. Three sentences, and I think no more, have struck me, which I shall present to the reader in Mr. Allen's rendering. The first is in book II. ii. 6: "I stop not to notice those fanatics who pretend that grace is offered equally and promiscuously to all." The next, III. xxii. 10: "Whence it appears that, when the doctrine of salvation is offered to all for their effectual benefit, it is a corrupt prostitution of that which is declared to be reserved particularly for the children of the church." The last, III. xxiv. 1: "I have already made a few observations with a view to refute the error of those, who suppose the generality of the promises to belong equally to all mankind."— The first passage stands thus in the original: "Nam phreneticos nihil moror, qui gratiam pariter et promiscue expositam esse garriunt." I cannot doubt that it is directed against those who hold that the grace of the Holy Spirit is dispensed or communicated equally to all. The connexion requires this: for it is introduced in confirmation of the position, "that man is not possessed of free-will for good works, unless he be assisted by that special grace which is bestowed on the elect alone in regeneration." It is not the offer of mercy therefore, but the "exhibition" or communication of "special grace" to all that he denies.—The original of

A.D. 1564.

[1] Above, p. 413, 534-5, 575. Instit. III. iii. 21. xxii. 10. xxiv. 6, 8, 16, 17.

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the second passage is as follows: "Unde constat perperam quibuslibet prostitui salutis doctrinam ut efficaciter prosit, quæ solis ecclesiæ filiis seorsum reposita esse dicitur." This differs considerably from the translation. In fact nothing is distinctly said concerning "the offer" of the doctrine of salvation. The censure seems to be pointed against the supposition that the gospel is designed "effectually to benefit all"—*ut efficaciter prosit:* and rather refers to the divine *intentions* than to our duty in setting forth the gospel to men. And this again is agreeable to the context. The section opens thus: "It is objected by some, that God will be inconsistent with himself, if he *invites all men universally* to come to him, *and receives only a few elect.* Thus, according to them, *the universality of promises destroys the discrimination of special grace.*" And it proceeds: "How the Scripture reconciles these two facts, that by external preaching *all are called to repentance and faith,* and yet that *the spirit of repentance and faith is not given to all,* I have elsewhere stated." In fact therefore the passage is not written against those who pleaded for unlimited invitations: the propriety of *them* is assumed by both parties: but against those who denied the consistency of such invitations with the communication of grace only to select individuals.—The third passage certainly is not very correctly translated. "Eorum errorem refellens, quibus generalitas promissionum videtur æquare totum humanum genus." Supposing that "the generality of the promises" places "all men *on a level,*" or *equal footing* is what Calvin opposes.—There is nothing therefore in any of these passages in the least to contravene the general doctrine of Calvin con-

cerning the propriety and duty of addressing "exhortations, invitations, offers" to "all men indiscriminately." A. D. 1564.

2. On the other question, whether Christ, in a sense above defined,[1] died for all men, or suffered exclusively for the elect—a question which has since excited so much controversy—the silence of the Institutes is very remarkable. It is true, that this question may seem to be very much involved in that which we have just left, and that Calvin's unequivocal testimonies on that subject may go far to decide what were his sentiments on this—for what are "calls, invitations, offers" addressed to those for whom absolutely, and in every sense, no provision is made? But in reading through the Institutes, certainly not with my eyes closed as to this topic, I have not noted a single passage bearing directly upon it: nor on reading over again the chapters on Redemption,[2] with a special reference to it, do I find one. Was it that the author chose to evade it? That is most unlikely. Or was it rather (according to a suggestion above thrown out,) that the question was not yet fairly mooted, and that mankind hitherto had wisely contented themselves with the general statements of scripture, without attempting forcibly to reduce them to the dimensions of a system? The following passages in the two chapters just referred to bear very much that appearance—if some of them are not even positively availing in favour of general redemption. "In this situation Christ interposed as an intercessor: he has received and suffered in his own person the punishment, which by the righteous judgment of God impended over *all sinners;* that by his blood 2. Redemption, general or particular.

[1] Above, p. 212-3. [2] Instit. II. xvi. xvii.

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he has expiated those crimes which rendered *them* odious to God: ... that this is the foundation of peace between God and *men*."—"It follows in the creed, 'that he died and was buried:' in which may be further seen, how in every respect he substituted himself in our room, to pay the price of our redemption.... This is the meaning of the apostle when he says that he *tasted death for every man*."—"This is confirmed by the declaration of the Baptist, *Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world*." Thus he quotes passages on which an advocate of particular redemption would have been anxious to impose a *due* limitation, without making a single remark—apparently without feeling the temptation to offer one. And in the same way with respect to passages of a different description: "*As by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous:* the meaning is, that, as by the sin of Adam we were alienated from God, and devoted to destruction, so by the obedience of Christ we are received into favour, as righteous persons."[1]

In the absence then of any thing more decisive (as far as I have observed,) in the Institutes, I turn to the few passages which I have met with, or which have been pointed out to me, in other parts of our author's writings. The remarkable clause in his will, unnecessarily and therefore it would appear studiously introduced, for the purpose of shewing his sentiments, is already before the reader: "The blood of the great Redeemer, *which was shed for the sins of the human race*." On Matthew xxvii. 28, "This is my blood which is shed for

[1] Ib. xvi. 2, 7. xvii. 3, 4.

many for the remission of sins," he says: "By the term *many*, he does not mean *a part* of the world, but *the whole human race.* When we approach the sacred table, let us not only have in our minds this general consideration, that *the world is redeemed by the blood of Christ*, but let each one reflect for himself, that his own sins are expiated." On Romans v. 18, "The free gift came on all men to justification of life," he remarks; "The apostle makes it a grace or favour common to all, because it is proposed (or set forth) [1] to all; not because it is actually extended to (conferred on) all. For, though Christ *suffered for the sins of the whole world, and is offered by the mercy of God* to all indifferently, (without exception or distinction,) yet all do not embrace him." Finally on 1 John ii. 2. he says: "Christ suffered *sufficiently* for the whole world, but *efficaciously* only for the elect." A. D. 1564.

"Though Calvin's works consist of nine volumes folio, I do not think," says Dr. Williams, (to whom I have been indebted for some of these quotations,) "there is one sentence that militates against the representation" here contended for; "and in many places he expresses himself in a manner that abundantly justifies it." Calvin therefore, we may confidently conclude, would have fully concurred in the statements of our thirty-first Article, our Communion Service, and our Catechism on this subject; in the last of which the limitation seems to be distinctly placed not in the *impetration* but in the *application* of salvation—not on "redemption" but on "sanctification."

[1] "Exposita est"—the very word used in one of the passages quoted above (p. 597,) as apparently tending the contrary way. Calvin frequently uses it for *offered.*

APPENDIX.

Imputation on Calvin's moral character—Present Bishop of Strasburg.

Divers scandalous stories have been spread in the vain hope of blasting the character of Calvin: as has happened also in the case of most of the eminent reformers, and as must be expected with reference to men who act the part they did, and with any considerable measure of their success. The bare perusal of the extracts which have been published[1] from the contemporary Registers of the council of Geneva, where both Calvin and Beza are uniformly spoken of by the government of the small state in which they so long lived, and where they were so throughly known, as "great, eminent, and holy men," an honour and blessing to the country, might suffice to convince any candid mind, that these imputations deserve little more regard than did the reproaches cast upon their and our Divine Master—"He is a Samaritan and hath a devil." More than a century ago Bayle remarked with respect to Calvin, "The catholics have at last acknowledged the falsity of all those infamous calumnies wherewith they have branded his conduct." On these grounds all such idle tales would here have been passed over in perfect silence as defunct and obsolete, but for the attempt which has very recently been made, by a living author of high name and station, to revive one of the foulest and most unsupported of them all, and to spread it among our countrymen, many of them of a class that may be most ready to receive and propagate a story thus brought before them, without taking the pains which may be requisite to detect its falsehood and iniquity.

The writer to whom I allude is M. Trevern, the present bishop of Strasburg, in his "Discussion Amicale sur l'Eglise Anglicaine et en général sur la Réformation"—a work designed especially to enlighten the minds of English travellers.[2] The charge against Calvin is no other than this, that before the termination of his connexion with his native city of Noyon, which cannot be dated later than the year 1535,[3] he had been convicted

[1] Geneva and Paris, 1829.

[2] Paris, 1824. It is the work which has given occasion to Mr. Faber's learned and very valuable volume on the "Difficulties of Romanism." As it did not fall within Mr. F.'s plan to examine the story here told against Calvin, he was pleased to call my attention to it; in consequence of which an exposure of it, from the pen of another friend, appeared in the Christian Observer for 1827, p. 274.

[3] Above, p. 340, 345.

of an infamous crime, which subjected him to be burned to death at the stake; but that, through the intercession of his bishop, his punishment had been mitigated simply to the *fleur-de-lis*, or being branded on the shoulder with a hot iron. No less distinguished a personage than the great cardinal Richlieu is appealed to as sanctioning and giving currency to the fact: which he did in his "Treatise for the conversion of those who had separated from the church,"[1] It may be added however, that, previously to the present bishop of Strasburg, he is the latest and indeed the *only* author of reputation that has done so. But under what circumstances and on what authority did he do it? It is pretended that the judicial records of Noyon bore testimony to the fact, and that the knowledge of it was derived from them. Now, from his rank and station in France, he had of course the most ready access to those records; and from them, if they would have borne him out, he might have published, with the influence of his mighty name, the attested evidence of the reformer's infamy. But did he do any such thing? We are assured indeed that he did "make all imaginable inquiry into the pretended proceedings," but "discovered nothing."[2] Yet he had not the ingenuousness to abandon the accusation,[3] but condescended to rest it on the authority of Bolsec, and the alleged authority of Bertelier, and that in terms which must subject him to the ridicule of every one who recollects the history of the two men, and the situation in which they stood with respect to Calvin—to whom the one would ascribe his banishment, and the other his excommunication, his disgrace, and the sentence of death which hung over him and made him a fugitive from his country. "Bolsec," says the cardinal, "having reported the same fact,[4] Bertelier, who was still alive,[5] never denied it, which he doubtless would have done if he could have done it without offering violence to his conscience, and opposing the current belief of mankind."[6] This anxiety of Bertelier to clear the character of Calvin, if he could have done it with a good conscience, is truly amusing.

Bolsec and Bertelier being, one or both of them, the source of this slander, let us examine a little more particularly their circumstances, and the first publication of the story. Every thing connected with the case has been fully exposed by M. Drelincourt in his "Defense de Calvin;" but we shall need the aid of no more friendly author than Bayle, in his Historical and Critical Dictionary.

1. What was the history of Bolsec, on whose veracity the whole depends, and what grounds of resentment he had, or would think he had, against Calvin, we have already seen in the body of our work. Yet he vented nothing of this kind against the reformer till thirteen years after his death! It was in the year 1575-6 that

[1] Anno 1618. [2] Bayle. Art, *Bertelier*.

[3] Drelincourt indeed cannot believe Richlieu guilty of such conduct, and "lays all the blame on the publishers." Bayle.

[4] Thus he insinuates that the information was derived from other sources. Bolsec, professing to derive his information from Bertelier, is *the sole authority*.

[5] This Bayle denies.

[6] Traité, &c. Liv. ii. p. 319, 320, quoted in Discussion Amicale, p. 88.

Beza published Calvin's Correspondence, in which, in the words of Bayle, was "a thundering letter against Bolsec."[1] Two years after this (1577) Bolsec brought out jointly the lives of the two reformers, Calvin and Beza, in which he loaded both with the same foul charges. "Both these histories," says Bayle, "are altogether unworthy of credit, as well because they were written by an author full of resentment for the affronts he had received, as because he is found manifestly guilty of calumny in the most heinous points. There is now hardly any writer of reputation but will acknowledge that this author is not to be credited. . . . . It were sufficient to instance M. Maimbourg, who was not of a temper to let go his hold without good reason: yet he gives up the story of the fleur-de-lis, and owns that Bolsec 'wrote a satire and continued invective rather than a history.'" Bayle instances several other Roman-catholic zealots who had equally discarded Bolsec's authority, and then asks, "Is it not strange that the great cardinal Richlieu should be less scrupulous and nice than Varillas, Florimond de Remond, Pierre de Romuald, and Papyre Masson,[2] and should give out, as a true matter of fact, the story of Jerome Bolsec, which then began to be laid aside by the missionary" priests?

2. We turn now to Bertelier, whom Bolsec makes his authority for the charge against Calvin. *His* history and character are also before our readers; and we have already heard Bayle pronouncing that he "distinguished himself only by his vile actions."[3] The originating of this slander against Calvin is that "one" of the number, by which, the same author says, he so "pleased the controvertists," as to "give occasion to his being quoted as a person of consequence." He is raised at once by cardinal Richlieu, from being "the registrar of one of the inferior courts of Geneva," to the office of "secretary of the city;"[4] and, what is more, he appears to be continued by him in that office twenty-two years after he had been driven from the city under a sentence of death![5]—Bolsec asserts that he was deputed from the republic of Geneva to Noyon to inquire there into the life and manners of Calvin, and thus obtained a copy, attested in due and legal form, of the entry in the records of that city, which established the reformer's dishonour. For the time of this pretended mission no date is assigned: but it could not take place later than 1551, Bertelier having ever after that, till his final expulsion, been under excommunication, and so far in disgrace. Now, besides the utter improbability of such a mission from Geneva concerning Calvin, then in the highest estimation there; and to a bigoted Roman-catholic city of France, when persecution raged throughout that country; we have the testimony of M. Lullin, ancient syndic of Geneva, that it was incompatible with the customs and rights of his countrymen ever to depute a man of Bertelier's low rank to a foreign city; and that, in point of fact, no such mission could

[1] Epist. p. 63, 64. quoted above, p. 406.

[2] "In the year 1583, writing Calvin's life, he (Masson) called those *wretched* and *mobbish* authors, who reproached that minister with lewdness."

[3] Above, p. 450. [4] Bayle, *Bertelier*.

[5] From 1555, when he fled, to 1577, when Bolsec published.

ever have taken place, no minute of it appearing in the registers of the state.—And then, as to the question of the *use* which Bertelier made of the important document of which he had possessed himself—did he deliver it over to those who had deputed him? Nothing of the kind is pretended. He himself, as the reader is aware, fell into disgrace, was excommunicated, and resolutely kept under excommunication, by Calvin even in the face of letters of relaxation from the senate. All this time, we are to believe he held in his hands the proofs of his persecutor's infamy: and yet he had the forbearance, the virtue, the incomparable and unexampled virtue and forbearance, never to produce it—never for very many years after to drop a hint upon the subject!! "Would he have had so little wit," asks M. Bayle, "as not to inform the whole town, that that great zealot, who excommunicated others, bore the infamy of a hot iron on his own back? Would he not have challenged him to his face to shew his naked shoulders?"—But, even had it been possible under such circumstances to prevent the public production of the paper, yet nothing, as Bayle again remarks, could have suppressed the circulation of the story "in private families, or hinder its coming to the ear of Calvin's enemies. How comes it that Blandrata, Alciati, Gentilis, Gribaldo, and so many other heretics whom Calvin expelled from Geneva, and persecuted without mercy wherever they fled,[1] never said a word of these recriminations of Bertelier?" But no, it was never heard of till twenty-two years after Bertelier was compelled to fly his country, and then Bolsec published to the world that he had seen the paper in the hands of his friend!—Richlieu has spoken of Bertelier as yet alive when this took place. In direct contradiction of this Bayle says: "It is observed that he (Bolsec) forbore to speak of it till Bertelier was dead: an evident sign either that he boasted falsely to have seen that act in Bertelier's hand, or that he knew that he who shewed it durst not run the hazard of being publicly contradicted."

3. This I trust may amply suffice respecting the testimony of Bolsec and Bertelier. But another point must be adverted to. The supposition that such an entry existed in the records of Noyon without ever being brought to light for at least forty-two or forty-three years, is not less incredible than all the rest of the story.[2] The name of Calvin was execrated in papal France, as that of the most pestilent enemy of the church in existence, at least after the death of Luther; and at the very place in question, his native city of Noyon, a false report of his death was, in the year 1551, hailed with public thanksgivings and the most marked demonstrations of joy:[3] yet we are to believe that in this city no one was found during so many years to bring this precious voucher to

[1] So Bayle, at least, represents it. But compare Calv. Epist. p. 161-2.

[2] From 1534 or 1535, at the latest, to 1577.

[3] Calv. Epist. 68 (a). Above, p. 463, following Beza, I have placed this in 1556; and, having seen also the letter of Calvin here referred to, which states it to have occurred in 1551, I have there spoken of it as a "second" instance. I agree however with Bayle, that it is more likely that Beza should have mistaken the date than that the same city should have twice exposed itself to ridicule, as well as to reproach, by a repetition of the same error.

light, which, as Bayle observes, "the clergy would have bought for its weight in gold." "No romance," says he very justly, "can be so ridiculous." "Calvin was not a man in whose favour the sentence of the fleur-de-lis would have been suppressed for forty-three years together. Immediately on the commencement of his ministry at Geneva, it would have been published in the most authentic and legal form: it would have been translated into all languages, and posted up at all the corners of the streets." "The laws of limitation," he again remarks, "were never so valid as in this business. Prescription, which in other cases serves only to stop proceedings, without absolutely deciding the point in question, is here an invincible proof against the accuser. He lays his action after forty-three years are expired: it cannot be admitted: prescription has barred him, and besides convicts him of calumny."[1]

Such then is the tale which a highly lauded, a richly remunerated Roman-catholic bishop of France thinks fit to bring forward for the instruction of the nineteenth century, and such the evidence on which it rests. We are to believe, 1. That the city of Noyon preserved such a record against Calvin carefully locked up in its registers from A. D. 1535 to 1551: 2. That it then revealed the secret to Bertelier, a deputy from Geneva, only: 3. That he, notwithstanding his most trying and irritating circumstances, preserved it equally inviolate for we know not how many years more: 4. That he then shewed it Bolsec, and only to him; and, 5. That Bolsec, with perfect good faith, at length published the fact of Calvin's conviction, not less than forty three years after it happened, thirteen years after that reformer's death, and not till after the death of him who had communicated it; and then without any particulars of time, place, witnesses, "or, in general, any of those circumstances which are never forgotten except when people are afraid of exposure."[2] In vain does the bishop of Strasburg attempt to prop up the worse than tottering authority, on which he has rested, by some second or third hand additional testimonies. The stream of calumny having been cut off at its source, we need feel no solicitude about these lower channels through which it is alleged to have flowed. His offence also in propagating such convicted slander is aggravated immeasurably beyond that of Richlieu, by the double exposure which, since the cardinal's time, it has received in his own language, from the pens of Drelincourt and Bayle.[3] Nor will the bland but insidious language with which he introduces his statements,

[1] Bayle, Articles, *Bertelier*, *Bolsec*, and note U of *Calvin*. In note A on Bolsec, he satirises the followers of that writer for their folly and their gross and greedy appetite for scandal, in terms which, though not unjust, are too coarse to be here quoted. [2] Bayle.

[3] In Drelincourt's Defence, Bayle says, "the falsity of this story has been so demonstrably proved, that perhaps greater evidence was never produced in a question relating to a matter of fact."—Richlieu lays much stress on the church of Geneva having never undertaken the confutation of the story. The date of its publication, and the characters of the men from whom it proceeded, no doubt account for their silence. But Drelincourt's book issued from Geneva in 1677, with the sanction of the republic.

(like oil to anoint the dart, in order to make it penetrate more deeply,) expressing his good wishes that the partisans of Calvin may, "for his credit's sake, succeed in their efforts to clear him from the brand of guilt;" nor the concessions to "truth," with which he closes them, avail to extenuate his fault, when it is considered with what assumptions, what insinuations, what additional false charges they are mixed up. "As to the silence of Beza," he says "it is answered, that, as the disciple was notorious for the same crimes and the same heresy as his hero, he is not worthy of any one's regard.... Good faith however requires that I should inform the readers, that I have not found one word of the famous branding in the writings of M. Desmay,[1] although he made diligent search for it on the spot. I wish his silence may be deemed sufficient to subvert the affirmations, so positive and so public, of authors who wrote more than forty or fifty years before him. It appears that M. Desmay had only examined the registers of the chapter, and not those of the town.[2] Besides eighty years had elapsed since the judgment given against Calvin, and *it is asserted* that his friends had procured the erasure of the proceedings from the registers of the city!"

Such are the arts, such the weapons with which the reformation is still attacked. It has been justly observed, that, as we derive not the tenets, which as protestants we hold, from any human authority, the character of the persons by whom those truths were brought to light, after having been buried for ages, is not a point of vital importance to our cause: yet such as we have now seen, we may be bold to affirm, will be found the result of a fair examination of most of the charges brought whether against Calvin or Beza, Luther or Cranmer.

Ex uno disce omnes.[3]

[1] Doctor of the Sorbonne, 1614, four years before Richlieu's work.

[2] He must have been extremely incompetent, and his "search" very far from "diligent," if this were true.

[3] The bishop has more charges or insinuations to offer against Calvin: but as the learned friend who drew my attention to the subject, observes, "They are nor worth the expence of whipcord."

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*** *Zwingle, Œcolampadius, and Calvin, are here referred to by the initial letters of their respective names.*

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* "In baptism God regenerating us inserts us into the society of his church, and makes us his by adoption." Instit. IV. xvii. 1, &c.

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